JOURNAL OF MARXISM-NKRUMAISM

Issues of Pan-Africanism and Building the Socialist Mode of Production

The Annual Theoretical Organ of the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA)

Vol. 1 No. 1 December 31, 2014

EDITORIAL

On Building Socialist Power

Hitherto, the pursuit of socialism has essentially been at the *political* level, to begin with. This stands in contrast to the laws governing the evolution and emergence of new modes of production in dominance within the historical process. History attests to the fact of newly emerging socio-economic systems (modes of production) being evolved, upheld, promoted and defended by emergent *economically powerful* class forces. The attraction of the new mode of production in assuring *immediate* and *future* livelihood in prosperity and happiness has always been its source of inexorable growth and development. Political and other superstructural institutions of power, attendant upon such economic systems to defend them, are a *consequence* of the process of *economic* evolution but *never ever their cause*. The attempts at a reversed process have generally failed. The laws governing this process of history are never reversed. The poor do not come to rule their lives until and unless they create for themselves an economic system in which *they* are the powerful. Yes, until and unless the working people build for *themselves* the socialist mode of production in superiority over the capitalist and neo-colonial system the attainment of socialism as a socio-economico-political system shall remain elusive. It is that mode of production which attracts to it the free and voluntary participation of others in it not only for its onward development but also for its moral justification and all-round defence. The current practice of creating or seeking to create a moral, political and military defence system for a socialist mode of production *which is yet to emerge* while feeding precariously within the existing corrupt system is, to put it mildly, self-deceptive. It has no independent legs to stand on. It is, in fact, a clear and clean expression of a mistake and travesty of the laws of history which operate with iron discipline. And, to put it more seriously, it is, on the part of those who are not that unaware, an innocent betrayal of the very working people whose cause they seek (and sometimes pretend) to defend. For far too long, socialism has been misconceived as the rule of 'the poor and suffering masses'. No, the poor and the suffering never rule even their own lives. Those class forces that ever emerged dominant in history had always been described, once upon a time, as 'the poor and suffering lot'. To be dominant – that is, to put their poverty and suffering behind them and determine their fortunes over other classes – they evolved and erected *their own liberating* mode of production *which enabled* them *simultaneously* to develop a defence and socio-politico-administrative system appropriate to it. So let it be with the poor and suffering masses of *today*. Thus sayeth History.

Liberty Ayivi Memorial Mango Plantation (LAMMP)

In our next issue

CONTENTS

Our Stance
Here We Are

Ideological Determinations
Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on Religion and Atheism
On the Democratic Revolution within the African Revolution

A Course in Marxism-Nkrumaism
Introductory Welcome Discourse

Applications
On the Question of Who Founded Ghana: Constructing and Executing the Strategy for the Attainment of Sovereign Nation-Statehood

Political Economy
Surplus-Value: A Manual for the Study of Karl Marx's *Theories of Surplus-Value*

Pan-Africanism
Revolutionary Pan-Africanism

Matters Arising
1. Dr. Abu Sakara-Forster and the Dramatic Neo-Colonial Mentality
2. Pacifism and the Democratization of Violence
3. A Critique in Socialist Policy Direction Development in Africa: Evaluating Professor Ansa K. Asamoa's Depeasantization Policy

In Our Next Issue
Land Ownership Patterns and Acquisition in Ghana: A Case Study of Opportunities for the Settlement of African Agricultural Mobile Labour

Our Stance

HERE WE ARE

For decades now, the thought and practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah have been categorized simply as 'Nkrumaism', following his own initial usage. This affords reactionary forces the world over an opportunity to empty the concept of its *Marxist* content. Nkrumaism is, in those circles, so emasculated that Dr. Nkrumah is no longer seen as the socialist Pan-African Revolutionary that he is. So abused is the 'Nkrumaism' concept that we are now required to use 'Marxism-Nkrumaism' for definiteness.

That reactionary and compromised view of his thought and practice system is used essentially to create the false impression on the masses of the African people that the pursuit of his ideals is on the agenda of those neo-colonial forces seeking or holding political power; while what is intended or is in practice is the neo-colonial and unscientific negation of that system to service and reproduce the archaic capitalist neo-colonial system and superstitious modes of thought.

The *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism* sets out to emphasize the Marxist fundamentals and foundation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's thought system. In his compilation of the book *Revolutionary Path*, Dr. Nkrumah's overriding concern is the exhibition of his consistency in Marxist applications not only in his writings but also in his political activities right from the 1940s to the last moment of his breath in life in 1972. His introductory pieces to each item in the compilation attest to this.

In publishing the *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism* as its annual theoretical organ, the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA) seeks, first, to restore the Marxist premises to the interpretation and understanding of Dr. Nkrumah's thought system; for, without this the *scientific* concerns of that system are lost in any interpretation of his theoretical efforts to demystify *superstition* in traditional African thought processes so as to install the reign of scientific modes of thought.

Secondly, CENCSA seeks to demonstrate Dr. Nkrumah's applications of Marxist principles in theory as well as political strategy and tactic formulations. Demonstrations of this nature are found in the paper *On the Question of Who Founded Ghana*, for instance. Here, Dr. Nkrumah's application of revolutionary pragmatism, as a principle in Marxist revolutionary praxis, is exhibited to show how he goes pragmatic *without* abandoning set objectives but rather for their realization.

Thirdly, the effort is made to show that he is not dogmatic but creative in his application of Marxist principles to the African reality. In this regard, importation of the *results* in other people's application of such principles

in their peculiar conditions is abhorred. He insists on such applications to the African reality in deriving results therefrom as *the* scientific attitude. Hence, he does not call himself a Marxist-Leninist or Maoist. By this he renders Afrocentricism (the African-centred approach) *scientific*.

This buries within it *no* suggestion of *not* learning from the experiences of other people under different climes and conditions. It is rather held that the utilization of foreign experiences in our endeavours must *first* be *validated* through an analysis of our own African conditions. Hence, the *uncritical* import of ideas without subjecting them to local validation amounts to the unscientific mode of *mechanical or metaphysical thinking*. Such lazy resort to solution-finding is always resisted without let.

With these three objectives, CENCSA aims at developing a critical mass of African professional revolutionaries with their hearts, minds and eyes set on the concrete analysis of *African* society on the lines of *scientific thinking and practice*. In this respect, the African is encouraged to eschew mystifying modes of thought in the manner of the physical scientist's practice. Principles of Marxism, just like those of the physical sciences, are universally applicable *anywhere* to achieve local results.

In this spirit, CENCSA prefers Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's reported use of 'Marxism-Nkrumaism' (by June Milne) in its characterization of his thought and practice to that of 'Nkrumaism' which has been corrupted to mean something other than the *Marxist* ideology and philosophy that it is. Where 'Nkrumaism' is used instead of 'Marxism-Nkrumaism' in the pages here it is the latter that is meant; just as the use of 'Leninism' elsewhere implies 'Marxism-Leninism'.

In this first edition of the *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism*, we publish articles, papers and extracts of a manual, previously written and published by the Director of the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA), Lang T. K. A. Nubuor, to provide a definition of the content and orientation of Marxism-Nkrumaism.

Topics treated range from issues of philosophy through history to those of political economy and development in areas like creating collective co-operatives as basis of the socialist mode of production in the spirit of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism. 'Practice without thought is blind; and thought without practice is empty.' The dialectic is herein observed.

Be Focused, Determined and Bold! Forward Ever! Onward To The African Revolution!

December 31, 2014

BACK TO CONTENTS

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH ON RELIGION AND ATHEISM

This is part of a series. The other parts are found at https://consciencism.wordpress.com

MARXISM-NKRUMAISM: DR. KWAME NKRUMAH'S APPLICATION OF MARXISM TO AFRICA

SERIES IV

THE CONCEPT OF COSMIC CONTRAST IN "CONSCIENCISM" A CONTRIBUTION TO MARXIST DIALECTICS

By

HABIB NIANG

Foreword by Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's position on atheism within the Marxist philosophical system occasions doubts in the minds of some revolutionary forces regarding his Marxist essence and credentials. But do we properly understand that position as it finally turns out to be in its evolution? That is, as a conception of the existence of an all-powerful *natural* but *not* a *supernatural* force subject to scientific scrutiny?

Setting out to unfold the *scientific* basis of religion, Dr. Nkrumah ends up in an absolute rejection of religion and transformation of the all-powerful *supernatural* force on the basis of which religion revolves into a *natural* force with impersonal properties akin to those of the force of gravity. Only the application of Marxist dialectical materialist principles, as Dr. Nkrumah does, generates such a concept.

***

Bob Brown of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (Guinea Conakry), a close associate of the late Kwame Ture (Stokeley Carmichael), reputed for his frank expression of convictions, recently states his doubts regarding Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Marxist credentials, in a sharp response to a discussant in a Facebook discourse, in this way:

> I am not religious, but do not share Marx's view of religion or his atheism. Nkrumah, as June Milne and others point out, was a self-

> declared Marxist Christian. Nkrumah obviously did not share Marx's opinion of religion; which challenges how Marxist he really was.

Certainly, Dr. Nkrumah does not initially share Karl Marx's view on religion and perhaps at all times on atheism. But that does not *at the time* prevent him from *simultaneously* asserting that he is a Marxist. He does not renounce Marxism on those premises or impulses and has *never* done that.

And, how *religious* is he when he finally *renounces* religion but holds on to what he calls 'an impersonal source of all power'? What is the nature of this power source? Is it God? This is a point of curiosity that needs to be addressed by Nkrumaists and should be of interest to Marxists and scientists across the world.

***

Surely, when Dr. Nkrumah declares himself to be a Marxist Christian in his book *Ghana: Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* he adds that he does *not* see any contradiction in that. The following are his exact words at page 12 of the book:

> To-day I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist socialist and I have not found any contradiction between the two.

Hence, he does not see that being a Christian poses any imaginable challenge to his being a Marxist. All the same, while in Guinea, where, at least for once, he joins in the Islamic observance of Ramadan (the fast), though not in a Mosque, as June Milne reports, he ceases to be Christian. In this respect, he declares:

> In my *Autobiography* I called myself a Marxist Christian. I think that was wrong. I am now simply a Marxist, with historical materialism as my philosophy of life. (See his letter of July 1, 1967 to June Milne at page 161 of June Milne's book *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years*)

From page 199 to page 200 in another letter to June Milne, dated November 28, 1967, Dr. Nkrumah explains his changed attitude toward Christianity in terms of his objection to *organized* religion as such. It is better to quote him at length when he tells June Milne in that letter that

> You remember when you were here I tried to discuss religion with you. I did not go further than to say that I did not believe in organised religion. Religion, *qua* religion, and as a social and cultural phenomenon, evolving as it were through man's aspiration to a higher self, is not incompatible with scientific socialism (Marxism) or Communism. As I say, it is the organised form of religion e.g. organised Christianity or Churchianity which I loathe. I

> loathe it because it destroys the freedom of man and turns him into a spiritual slave.

***

In another letter to June Milne, dated March 27th 1970, Dr. Nkrumah takes a step further and renounces not just organized religion but religion as such while insisting on being a Marxist Socialist. The interesting thing here is that he holds on to what he calls 'an impersonal source of all power'. Read:

> With regard to Author's Note I wanted to write for Allen, it refers principally to page 12 of my *Autobiography*. I quote: 'Today I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist Socialist. And I have not found any contradiction between them.' Since I wrote those lines, my ideas on religion have changed. Today, I am not only [not] a non-denominational Christian, I don't believe in *any* religion, *but the idea of an impersonal source of all power*. I am still a Marxist Socialist, and much more so. (See page 370 of Milne's book. Italics added)

So that essentially, Dr. Nkrumah does not depart from the idea of a source of power in the universe. In fact, going back to another letter to June Milne, dated August 7, 1967, at page 169 of her book, Dr. Nkrumah writes *to the effect* that despite Marx's and Engels' repudiation of divine influence *he* believes in a power that *sustains* all that *there is* in the universe. Read:

> Then [comes] the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels which repudiates any divine influence in the affairs of men and in which truth is measured by the pressure of conditions and circumstances of a special situation. It is these [and others] which have been shaping my thinking and thoughts. *But I also believe* that there is a source of all power in the universe. I *liken* that power to, *say*, electricity or atomic energy, millions of times more powerful. *This is the sustenance of all that there is.* (All italics and square brackets added)

***

The question might be raised as to what he means by 'an impersonal source of all power'. In June Milne's note at page 197 she reports that in a discussion on religion, within the period November 15-22, 1967, Dr. Nkrumah similarly states his belief in some 'force' which he likens again to 'electricity'. Thus we can understand the 'impersonal source of all power', which he also refers to as 'power', to be a 'force'.

Further on, Milne reports him to consider this force, the impersonal power, as, in the wording of her reportage, 'motivated by ''natural laws''''. The *impersonal* nature of that force or power is indicated in the fact that it is *not*

benevolent and breaking its natural laws attracts dire consequences (probably like the force of gravity). On our part, we can surmise that the converse is also true; that is, observance of the natural laws serves to one's advantage. This is her report of their discourse:

> Came to the office one evening, after his rest, saying he had been considering religion. Didn't believe in any formal religion; Christianity particularly had done immense harm. Believed in some 'force' rather like electricity, which was motivated by 'natural laws'.
>
> I asked if he thought the 'force' was benevolent.
>
> 'What do you mean "benevolent"?'
>
> 'Well-disposed. Kind.'
>
> He laughed. 'No. It's not benevolent. If you break the natural laws, then that's the end of you.'

This appears to us to project the impersonal power or force as a *natural* but not a *supernatural* power. The implication here is that the impersonal power is seen as a phenomenon that can be studied in *science*. This is supported by Dr. Nkrumah's statements in a letter to June Milne, dated September 27, 1966, to the effect that

> We must break through religious superstition. Religion can be given a scientific basis, and it can be made scientific if devoid of its mumbo-jumbo devices. (See of June Milne's *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years* p.73)

These 1966 statements appear to us to be the basis of his July 1, 1967 statement that differentiates *Christ* from *Jesus*. In that statement, made in another letter to June Milne of that date at p. 161 of her book and before his 1970 total rejection of religion, Dr. Nkrumah appears to us to equate *Christ* with the impersonal power and *Jesus* with man or humanity. Consider this:

> To me there is a difference between Christ and Jesus. Christ is mystical and *impersonal*, and Jesus is historical and personal. The two are not one and the same thing. Christian theologians have messed up the world with this confusion. Jesus is the biological son of Joseph and Mary. He was, however, a wise man in many things, like Buddha, Socrates, Confucius, Mohammed etc. (Our italics)

With his later *absolute* rejection of religion, whether organized or not, Dr. Nkrumah leaves us *not* with a *mystical* but an impersonal and all-powerful *natural* phenomenon that is animated by its own *natural* laws. As a subject of *science*, this phenomenon is capable of being studied and explained by humans. He does not explicitly call it 'God' and we can only infer; but calling

it so does not take away from it its *materiality* and nature. It subsists 'inside' the world but not 'outside' it. Marxists are bound to be interested in researching into *this* material force.

In his book *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonisation*, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah uses philosophical concepts like 'categorial conversion' and 'cosmic contrast' – which are derivations from applications of the principles of Marxist dialectical materialism – to explain how *impossible* it is for such a powerful phenomenon to subsist 'outside' the world; a world, that he argues, has no 'outside' but only 'inside' in accordance with African cosmogony; that is, African understanding of the origin, evolution and structure of the universe.

***

In the derivation of those concepts Dr. Nkrumah adds to Marxism. This is the point that Habib Niang makes during the launching of *Consciencism* in 1964 at the University of Ghana in his speech bearing the caption *The Concept of Cosmic Contrast In "Consciencism" – A Contribution To Marxist Dialectics*. Niang particularly focuses our attention on the prevalence of magic or superstition in the traditional African mind and how Dr. Nkrumah seeks to combat it. Find that speech below for our study of the centrality of Marxism in Dr. Nkrumah's thought.

***

If Leninism is the short form of Marxism-Leninism that categorizes Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's application and development of Marxism in Russian conditions then Nkrumaism is the short form of Marxism-Nkrumaism that categorizes Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's application and development of Marxism in African conditions. In Africa, just like in Russia, there are thinkers whose thoughts are *not* in *significant* conflict with those of the foremost thinker of the realm. Hence, we have Ahmed Sekou Touré and Amilcar Cabral whose thoughts resonate with Dr. Nkrumah's.

The stringing of names to associate the *foremos*t thinker with others in the manner of Nkrumahist-Toureists and Nkrumaist-Cabralista could surely be a daunting task indeed in Africa if every developer of Marxism in Africa should have their names reflected in the general ism for an African ideology. The superfluity of such a practice becomes immediately plain when we construct Nkrumaism-Lumumbaism and Nkrumaism-Sobukweism into the bargain and box all these into an Nkrumaist-Toureist-Lumumbaist-Cabralista-Sobukweist mouthful. Certainly, that is too much.

Not even Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who work closely as if they are Siamese twins, christen their resultant ideology and philosophy as 'Marxism-

Engelsism' but simply as 'Marxism' to reflect the fact of Marx being the *leading* theorist or thinker. And that never fails to acknowledge Engels' contribution to the development of Marxism. Why then this emerging superfluous scenario in Africa where we now even hear of 'Puritanical Nkrumaism' that destructively seeks to impose a so-called independence of an Nkrumaism free of its Marxist content?

'The path I have taken is a lonely path, full of thorns and thistles, but it must be traversed.' Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, September 27, 1966

November 29 – 30, 2014

THE CONCEPT OF COSMIC CONTRAST IN "CONSCIENCISM" A CONTRIBUTION TO MARXIST DIALECTICS

By

HABIB NIANG

1. What is the most problem now facing the under-developed countries in general and Africa in particular, but the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the masses.

2. Faced with this imperative, the leaders of the countries just referred to, have come to the conclusion that these needs can be met only by socialism.

3. The first obstacle facing these leaders who believe that "practice without thought is blind", lies in the statement which claims that it is the contradiction between capital and labour which alone produces socialism. Indeed, the economic weakness, which is a characteristic feature of the under-developed countries, means that as far as they are concerned, the contradiction between capital and labour has not as a rule succeeded in reaching its critical peak of development.

4. The leaders who then turn to their societies to discover in their own tradition "an original method" of socialist development, encounter another obstacle which is even more serious, namely, the predominant part played by magic in the thought processes of those societies which Dr. Nkrumah has described as "communalist societies."

5. It is these two obstacles which Dr. Nkrumah has set himself to remove, in order to make it possible to achieve a rapid and harmonious development in the under- developed countries generally and in Africa in particular.

6. Obviously, such a task can only be conceived theoretically. And it is this which justifies the rigorous theoretical method employed in Consciencism, a Philosophy and Ideology for decolonisation and development.

7. Apart from his own intuitions, Dr. Nkrumah had to rely on the raw material inherent in the representation of communalist thought and the concepts of existing theoretical practice.

8. As regards the representations of communalist thought, the theory already defended by Dr. Nkrumah in "MIND AND THOUGHT IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY", submitted as a doctoral thesis at the University of Pennsylvania, USA in 1943, is as follows:-

"It is "pre-logical" to regard the mind of one people as magical and another's as rational. Magical (pre-logical) and rational thinking are all mental behaviour" (page 119 of the Manuscript deposited in the Ghana National Archives.)

9. From this dialectical analysis, the task of the theoretician 20 years later has been to raise communalist thought to the level of modern science, by producing the methods whereby the rationalist aspect of this thought could pass from a secondary to a dominant position.

10. When it comes to considering existing theoretical practice, a little reflection makes it possible to pin the obstacle down to the well-known simple process of two contraries: "the duplication of THE ONE and the knowledge of its contradictory facets, is the substance (an "essence", a feature, a basic peculiar peculiarity, if not the absolute fundament) of dialectics". (Lenin: "Obiter Dicta".)

11. This concept of the simple process of two contraries is also the very matrix of Hegelian dialectics.

12. Theoretical practice (which here concerns us), unlike Lenin's political practice, has erected this Hegelian concept into a basic factor of Marxist dialectics.

13. "When one lacks the initiative to fight, and the fight ends in a series of defeats, mechanistic determinism becomes a tremendous force for moral resistance, cohesion and patient, stubborn perseverance." (Gramsci "Oeuvres Choises", Editions Sociales, Paris, pp. 33, 34). This passage from Gramsci not only throws light on the probably subconscious reasons which have led many people to move away from the lessons of Lenin's political practice, and seek refuge in the Hegelian dogma of the simple process of two contraries, but also demonstrates how very closely allied MECHANISTIC DETERMINISM is to the magic shield which is one of the forces making for the

"moral resistance, cohesion and patient, stubborn perseverance" of communalist societies when confronted with imperialism.

14. With Consciencism, the simple process of two contraries, the theoretical foundation of mechanistic determinism, and the dominant magical aspect of communalist thought disappear in one fell swoop, if only because Consciencism gives us a new concept in cosmic contrast.

15. "There can be no material grounds on which the adjectives, "caused", "uncaused", or "finite", or "infinite", can be descriptively applied to the universe. No empirical discourse can logically constitute material ground of any of the epithets. It is only left that they should be postulates."

"If, however, one postulates a cause for "what there is", one is thereby committed to the conception of an "outside" and "inside" of the world. This need not lead to any irreducible contradiction, for whether the world is finite or infinite depends ... upon the mode of conceiving of the world. Hence the opposition is strictly dialectical. Beyond mere formal dialectics, however, one significance of the cosmic contrast of the "inside" and "outside" of the world is that it implies an acknowledgement that there is a conversion of a process which commences "outside" the world into the world and its contents". (Kwame Nkrumah, Consciencism, Heinemann, London.)

16. As will be seen, the concept of cosmic contrast is opposed to the theory of the identity of contraries, provided we conceive of "the simple process of two contraries", as "the basic peculiarity if not the absolute fundament of dialectics".)

In other words, the concept of cosmic contrast is fundamentally opposed to the Hegelian concept of dialectics.

17. The opposition between the concept of cosmic contrast and the Hegelian concept of dialectics can be appreciated even more clearly when we view Hegelian unity and totality from within: "THE ONE which is duplicated into its contrary" implies a totality of substance, which is fundamentally contrary to the concepts of "the inside" and "the outside" of the world.

18. Since he has condemned Hegel and his dialectics even "in an upside down position", Dr. Nkrumah could not possibly borrow Hegel's concepts. Hence in Consciencism you will not find the concepts of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis, affirmation, negation and negation of a negation etc….

19. With Consciencism new concepts have appeared: action, positive and negative, categorial conversion etc. The concept of action satisfies the complexity of the process, whereas categorial conversion implies a definite structure which makes it possible in given conditions to pass from one

category to another, the transition itself being determined by the unequal development that exist as between positive and negative action.

20. The relationships between ‘‘the outside’’ and ‘‘the inside’’ within the cosmic contrast are governed by categorial conversion. A ‘‘positive category’’ is regarded as one stemming from categorial conversion having its origin from ‘‘outside’’ (out-in), and enriching the ‘‘inside’’ and its contents. As regards the negative categories, these are constituted by the illusion that there is a possibility to achieve a categorial conversion stemming from the ‘‘inside’’ and moving to the ‘‘outside’’ of the world (in-out), the result of which is to impoverish the ‘‘inside’’ and its contents, to the advantage of the ‘‘outside’’. The categories which would arise from the categorial conversion ‘‘in-out’’ are theoretically null. However, in practice, they must be accounted for as negative, because in actual fact the decisive factor in their production as in the case of everything produced, in other words the precise moment of production and the methods used, constitutes a real loss for positive action, and consequently a genuine gain for negative action.

21. Cosmic contrast also implies that between the former category and the new one, there is never any identity of essence, since the categorial conversion brings about a real transformation.

22. Categorial conversion is also the theoretical foundation of the real existence of the multifarious categories which are mutually determined within the complex whole, dominated now by the negative aspect of the dominant contradiction, now by the positive aspect of the new dominant contradiction, after a categorial conversion.

23. The dismemberment of the structural pattern of the unity of the principal category and the reconstruction by means of the categorial conversion of a new structural pattern, that is a new principal category, do not imply the automatic disappearance of all of the former secondary categories which in a large measure are of a specific and autonomous character, one of which becomes the main contradiction within the reconstituted unity. Here is where we meet with one of the theoretical foundations, if not the real theoretical foundation of the possibility of the survival of the ideology of the primitive community in spite of the changed cultural pattern within the communalist society.

24. With the introduction of the concept of cosmic contrast which rids us of MECHANISTIC DETERMINISM and MAGIC, Dr. Nkrumah opens up to the under- developed countries in general and Africa in particular, the path to socialist development, whose index is represented by the formula d=pa/na, the theoretical basis of the ultimate determination by the economic factor.

Thursday, 2nd April, 1964

BACK TO CONTENTS

ON THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

WITHIN

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Striking A Balance Between Talkings And Doings Within The African Revolution)[1]

By

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

Say not the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

Arthur Hugh Clough[2]

Hitherto the transition to socialism is conceived in terms of taking over political power to supervise a period of democratic construction to create the structural or institutional conditions for a socialist regime. To this end, all revolutionary efforts are directed at a seizure of political power by progressive forces as a prime requirement. Thus, statements in the communication media, public lectures, organization of symposia and/or seminars, etc., are resorted to in an effort to raise consciousness of the African mass in preparation for change. Industrial strikes and demonstrations raise the tempo to heights of awareness in this respect. This ends in a successfully organized coup d'état or war to overthrow government.

The execution of this process means the installation of a revolutionary government which then directs the events of a democratic transition to

---

[1] Dedicated to Comrade Lawrence Lamptey who asks for a response that is yet to be comprehensively provided.

[2] Don't say that:
the struggle is useless,
the labour and the wounds are in vain, the enemy doesn't weaken or fail,
and nothing ever changes.

If hope might sometimes be making a sucker of you, so what? — fear might be lying to you;
it may be that, hidden in the battlefield smoke over there
your comrades are right now chasing the last of the defeated enemy,

and your corner of the battlefield is the only place where there's still fighting.

socialism. The concern of the transition is the respective construction of the new institutions of state and deconstruction of the old state apparatus. In essence, this amounts to a single-headed focus on **political** acts of engagement with the contested state of affairs. This means that the democratic phase of the revolutionary process begins only after the seizure of political power. Prior to this, the construction of the new institutions of state in the spheres of the political, economic and social endeavours of the people **wait**. Revolution begins **with** and only **after** power seizure.

We have had occasion to express disquiet and discomfort about this problematic strategy for the prosecution of what Dr. Kwame Nkrumah calls the African Socialist Revolution[3]. Our concern involves an appreciation of the historical process as one of an antecedent evolution of the new alongside the old leading to a replacement of the old. We explained that the idea of skipping this evolutionary phase of the revolutionary process is the historical mark of socialist revolutionaries in our era. Whereas those who respectively led the disintegration of the old society and the rise of the new society over the millennia sailed on the back of newly **emerging** concrete but not just **projected** institutions and practices, socialists do otherwise.

Thus under the current conditions of neo-colonialism, when an open conspiracy among the league of African heads of state to team up to restore toppled governments holds sway, there appears an atmosphere of revolutionary stupor. Various forums are created to just talk and talk, and talk and talk. This kind of atmosphere is well-known to observers of periods just before a coup d'état erupts. It is an unpredictable cloud laden with possibilities of violent reactions that might lead to an immediate period of indiscriminate confiscation of properties perceived to be stolen from the state. Already, such fears manifest in unsolicited proclamations of pacifism as the way forward – a damper on the revolutionary spirit.

And yet there is no doubt that the current situation of bourgeois neo-colonial democratic dispensation is embedded with the seed conditions for its systematic replacement through a genuine people's-led advance in a socialist democratic direction. For, within that crises-ridden dispensation neo-colonialism faces an impenetrable roadblock in finding long term solutions for the sustenance of existing production relations. The crises find expression in reform measures that would ordinarily have been pronounced by a socialist revolutionary government in the democratic phase of the socialist revolution. This resort to extra-system measures for survival presents opportunities for advance towards the socialist revolution.

The point is to exploit those opportunities for non-violent struggles in advancement of revolutionary democracy now; for, to await seizure of political power by a group before initiating that phase of the socialist revolution has never been the best option for the prosecution of the African Socialist Revolution. The people are alienated from the word 'go'. A true revolution or People's Power is only **built** through processes of evolution involving the working people from the onset leading to the moment of revolutionary

[3] See Kwame Nkrumah, **Class Struggle In Africa**, pp. 44, 51, 66 and 69.

explosion. It begins with and as the Democratic Revolution pursued by the working people themselves even before the emergence of the revolutionary state run by the working people for the working people.

In this respect, the revolutionary intelligentsia serves as a catalyst only but not a dictatorship within People's Power.

Defining the Democratic Revolution

In Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's **Class Struggle In Africa**, he observes that 'In the face of growing political awareness of the masses, reactionary governments either attempt to contain it by introducing bogus socialist policies, to suppress it by force, or to carry out a military coup.'[4] Such socialist policies are bogus because they are concessions made to working people upon pressure without any real intention to radically resolve the working people's problems. Further pressures from the African masses push the government to commit itself to the concrete realization of some of the concessions. These pressures are reinforced by opportunistic opposition party support in as far as they do not affect system fundamentals.

In this latter respect of concessions where we are talking about **reforms** and bourgeois opposition support, Dr. Nkrumah warns that 'in the revolutionary struggle, no reliance can be placed on any section of the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie.'[5] His reason is simple:

> The basis of a revolution is created when the organic structure and conditions within a given society have aroused mass consent and mass desire for positive action to change or transform that society. While there is no hard and fast dogma for socialist revolution, because no two sets of historical conditions and circumstances are exactly alike, experience has shown that under conditions of class struggle, socialist revolution is impossible without the use of force. Revolutionary violence is a fundamental law in revolutionary struggles. The privileged will not, unless compelled, surrender power. They may grant reforms, but will not yield an inch when the basic pillars of their entrenched positions are threatened. They can only be overthrown by violent revolutionary action.[6]

The kind of reform Dr. Nkrumah talks about here he defines in **Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonisation** in such a way that the fundamental ideological and philosophical assumptions of the dominant system as well as its institutional essentials remain **intact**. He states this thus: 'The essence of reform is to combine a continuity of fundamental principle, with tactical change in the manner of expression of the fundamental principle. Reform is not a change in the thought, but one in its manner of expression, not a change in what is said but one in idiom'.[7] A reform that **affects** that fundamental principle, however, is said to be a **revolutionary** reform. That is what a Democratic Revolution aims at.

---

[4] Kwame Nkrumah, **Class Struggle In Africa**, p. 54.
[5] Ibid. p. 81.
[6] Ibid. p.80.
[7] Kwame Nkrumah, **Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonisation**, p. 72

A Democratic Revolution constitutes the transition to socialism. It is that phase of the socialist revolutionary process when the institutions and practices of a new era of socialism are built in the lives of the people. The people voluntarily partake in the process out of their direct reaping of its superior advantages that reflect in their well-being. Revolutionary intellectuals discern this process unfolding in the people's activities. They perceive its development in its contrasting practices and the institutions that emerge freely on the basis of those practices to regulate the latter. Such intellectuals track down the operative principles animating these nascent institutions and practices and observe their development.

But the role of the revolutionary intellectual is not one of passive observation. They proceed from observation to constructing those observed operative principles into an ideological thought system. On the basis of such a system they develop a philosophical system for the elucidation of the ideology. Dr. Nkrumah explains that such an ideology is not simply a set of statements. It is in fact pervasive among its practitioners and yet remains largely covert.[8] The revolutionary intellectual does not therefore create the ideology but tracks it down. In the philosophical system supporting that ideology the various areas of the ideological system are identified and studied. This study then guides intellectual participation.

Such intellectual activism takes various forms. Apart from philosophical elucidation and elaboration of the ideology, articles like the one currently in front of the reader, novels extolling the virtues of the emerging new way of life, story books to initiate children into the new life, as well as theatre, drama and dance presentations are churned out. Running through such literary works is not just the exposition of the emerging ideology but also a critique of the *status quo* and its moribund ideological set up. These constitute the cultural arsenals of the people's revolution for a change in social morality. Dr. Nkrumah calls them 'subtle methods of "coercion" and cohesion'[9] which change 'in a quiet and discreet way'.[10]

The Democratic Revolution, by this definition, pervades in all aspects of society – initiating changes in agriculture and industry, architecture and road construction, art and culture, pedagogy and sports, *et cetera*. It heralds socialist construction and reconstruction. It does not necessarily require prior seizure of political power. It builds that power inside the old.

Ideological Content of the Democratic Revolution in Africa

As explained above, revolutionary intellectuals elaborate ideological systems out of their people's institutional and practical endeavours to guide the revolutionary process. This elaboration finds expression in philosophical systems. It goes without saying then that an ideology and its philosophical system cannot be imported. Thus in his elaboration of a philosophy and ideology for de-colonization in Africa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah studies African

[8] Ibid. p. 58
[9] Ibid. p. 65
[10] Ibid. p. 66. He adds therein that 'When this happens, it is said that a new ground is broken'.

society at its **specific** historical juncture. These studies are particularly found in his 1944 doctoral dissertation[11] and 1964 publication **Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonisation**. These twin products of his thought testify to its origin.

To begin with, Dr. Nkrumah quotes in the dissertation a part of a 1943 article 'Education and Nationalism' published in **Educational Outlook**, November 1943. In that article, he sees an African 'people emerging from one condition of culture and embracing a new culture which is both intricate and complex in its civilizational techniques'. He explains then that 'When two cultures meet there is bound to be a crisis – a crisis which often results in the cultural dialectic synthesis of the two. Development leads, at a certain point, to a revolutionary break and to the emergence of a new thing – a new culture, a new education, or a new national life.' On the basis of this synthesized African society with a new national life he urges that:

> In the educational process of the African the best in Western culture should be combined with the best in African culture. In this respect there should be collaboration between educators, sociologists, and anthropologists, whose findings should enable those who are responsible for African education to prevent destruction of the best in indigenous African culture and at the same time to acquaint the African with the best in his own as well as in foreign civilizations. Any education is impossible without respect for the educand.
>
> Whatever may be the political and educational trends and potentialities, education in Africa should produce a new class of educated Africans imbued with the culture of the West but nevertheless attached to their environment. The new class of Africans should demand the powers of self-determination and independence to determine the progress and advancement of their own country. They must combine the best in Western civilization with the best in African culture. Only on this ground can Africa create a new and distinct civilization in the process of world advancement.

Clearly then at the specific historical juncture of an emerging and synthesizing new African society that Dr. Nkrumah deliberates on, the educational-cultural elements that should define the new African are not simply and strictly African in origin. They represent a new synthesis of a cross-cultural nature. After twenty-one years of the publication of the article in question here Dr. Nkrumah publishes **Consciencism**. In this latter, he does not only continue with the same subject but particularly expands its dimensions to include Islamic experience in Africa. If in the 1943 article extract Dr. Nkrumah does not indicate which of the two cultures in the dialectical synthesis should dominate the other, in his 1964 publication he specifically makes African culture the base of the synthesis involving the three cultures thus:

[11] Kwame Nkrumah, **Mind and Thought in Primitive Society: A Study in Ethno-Philosophy – With Special Reference to the Akan Peoples of the Gold Coast, West Africa**.

> Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people. It is from those conditions that the intellectual content of our philosophy must be created... Our attitude to the Western and Islamic experience must be purposeful. It must also be guided by thought, for practice without thought is blind. What is called for as a first step is a body of connected thought which will determine the general nature of our action in unifying the society which we have inherited, this unification to take account, at all times, of the elevated ideals underlying the traditional African society.[12]

In his ultimate effort to combine the best in African, Western and Islamic cultures, therefore, Dr. Nkrumah asserts the ideals animating African culture in dominance. Hence, the ideology enunciated in **Consciencism** is derived from African culture. And by African culture, he means that of African communal society whence he tracks and extracts 'the cluster of humanist principles'[13] that define the ideology. But these principles are combined with those of Western origin as scientific socialism. Hence, in publications after **Consciencism** he does not refer to 'consciencism' as the ideology of the African Revolution; he prefers to use 'scientific socialism' but interchangeably with it. Marxist categories are well used.[14]

In respect of philosophy, he asserts philosophical materialism. In the dissertation, where he initiates his method of presentation by way of a historical account of philosophical systems, he upholds Karl Marx's critique of Hegelian dialectics with the observation and comment that 'Dialectical thinking ... became essential not only in philosophy and science but also in history and social development. But instead of using dialectics in the studying (of) the laws of the social world by the methods of science, an attempt was made by the Hegelians to deduce these from a study of ideas and concepts. It was against this substitution of the idealized and mystical concept for material and social reality that Marx revolted ...'[15]

He further states appreciatively that 'Dialectics or the general law of life, change and development was interpreted in terms of the external world, and the development of mind as process conditioned and occasioned by productive forces became the basis of Marxian dialectics'[16]. This is at once an assertion of dialectical materialism and historical materialism as they obtain in the Marxist system. In the application of Marxist historical materialism Dr. Nkrumah is better appreciated when he states that

> 'The methods by which social man satisfies his needs are determined by the nature of the implements with which he tries to conquer nature, and these in turn determine the nature of his mind. This is an incontestable fact in human progress and development. Primitive

[12] Kwame Nkrumah, **Consciencism**, p.78
[13] Ibid. p. 79
[14] Kwame Nkrumah, **Class Struggle in Africa**.
[15] Kwame Nkrumah, **Mind and Thought in Primitive Society: A Study in Ethno-Philosophy – With Special Reference to the Akan Peoples of the Gold Coast, West Africa**, pp. 33-34

[16] Ibid. p. 34

> instincts of sociability are the results of adaptations to natural environment in the struggle for existence.'[17]

In all these, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah does not state or give any indication that he is quoting or paraphrasing from any other source but Marx. Some philosophical midget recently asks: 'Do all universal truths like historical and dialectical materialism, class struggle, and socialism, have to have a European name attached to them to be acceptable?' The clear and unquestionable fact is that, whether we play the ostrich or not, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah correctly attributes 'historical materialism', 'dialectical materialism' and 'class struggle' to Marx. Apart from his unimpeachable attribution of 'historical materialism' and 'dialectical materialism' to Marx, Dr. Nkrumah also attributes 'class struggle' to him in these nice words:

> The man who brought with force the issue of conflict to contemporary thinking is Marx. He saw society as a huge battleground in which various groups were in sharp conflict with each other; he also recognized what is believed to be an antinomy and resolved to solve it. His effort was to prevent atomization of society and to make it co-operative by the abolition of class conflict.[18]

These are the words of Dr. Nkrumah as a diligent student. As the then first and founding President of the Republic of Ghana in 1964, indefatigably championing the cause of African liberation and unification in a socialist Africa, he remembers these student days and tells us about the extent to which Marx and Engels influence his philosophical outlook thus:

> ... it was especially impossible to read the works of Marx and Engels as desiccated abstract philosophies having no bearing on our colonial situation. During my stay in America the **conviction** was **firmly** created in me that **great deal** in their thought could assist us in the fight against colonialism. I **learnt to see** philosophical systems in the context of the social milieu which produced them. I therefore learnt to look for social contention in philosophical systems. (All emphases supplied).[19]

These are severe admissions of the **fundamental** impact of Marxism on the philosophical maturity of the Man of African Destiny, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. He does not only live with that impact until his last breath but also bases his entire philosophical outlook on the Marxist system such that with any successful demolition of Marxism his system also falls. It is therefore by no slip of the pen that he makes the very first words of **Consciencism** Engels' statement of the Marxist materialist conception of history – historical materialism. The introduction to the book has the singular prestige of carrying that statement on its head. For, it embeds the justification for stressing on the politico-ideological element in the struggle.

---

[17] Ibid. p. 23

[18] Ibid. p. 78. This anticipates a comprehensive response to the philosophical midget's Black racist distortions.

[19] Kwame Nkrumah, **Consciencism**, p. 5

It is this **historical origin** of Dr. Nkrumah's philosophico-ideological system that justifies its being accorded the deserved accolade of 'Marxism-Nkrumaism'. On the African continent nobody else utilizes the theoretical arsenals of Marxism to analyze the African reality as assiduously as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah does. Lenin does the same for the then Soviet people and earns the 'Marxism-Leninism' accolade. Mao Zedong's 'Maoism' is never defined outside the premises of Marxism. It remains China's most abiding application of Marxism to dissect the Chinese social reality. In the **Revolutionary Path**, the Marxist thread holding the works of Dr. Nkrumah together renders possible the mapping out of his consistency.

We cannot leave this section without acknowledging the contribution that Dr. Nkrumah makes to rendering Marxism universally applicable. Just as Lenin and Mao respectively apply the principles of Marxism in the Soviet Union and China to yield results different from those that Marx and Engels arrive at in their application of the same principles to the political economy of Europe so does Dr. Nkrumah come by different results in his application of the Marxist principles to African society. The differences emanate not from the principles but from the different social milieus in which they are applied. The uneven development of nations guarantees this scenario.

In Africa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's philosophical materialism raises Marxist thought to a higher level with its introduction of **categorial conversion** (not categorical conversion as that philosophical midget suggests enthusiastically – there is nothing like that!). Categorial conversion adds to the arsenals of Marxism and does not negate it. Marxism-Nkrumaism, in the process, emerges as the most appropriate ideological system in handling the processes of the African Revolution, nay!, the African Socialist Revolution, to be exact. This means that in tracking down the specific movements and directions of the Democratic Revolution in Africa, we have Marxism-Nkrumaism in our hands as the search light. It is its guide.[20]

Conclusions

Although certain advances are being made on the African continent in the prosecution of the African Revolution, talking and talking dominates over action. With the African working people[21], it is the task of African revolutionary intellectuals to mobilize them in revolutionary democratic endeavours to initiate or accelerate the building process of the institutions and practices of the African Revolution. Today's bourgeois neo-colonial democracy grudgingly provides space. Work must be done on training revolutionary cadre with working class origin. For, in the words of Dr. Nkrumah 'In general, intellectuals with working class origins tend to be more radical than those from the privileged sectors of society.'[22]

[20] Find attached here an organogram of the thought system of Marxism-Nkrumaism as being developed by the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA).
[21] Focus must particularly be on the proletariat and peasant sections.
[22] Kwame Nkrumah, **Class Struggle in Africa**, p. 40

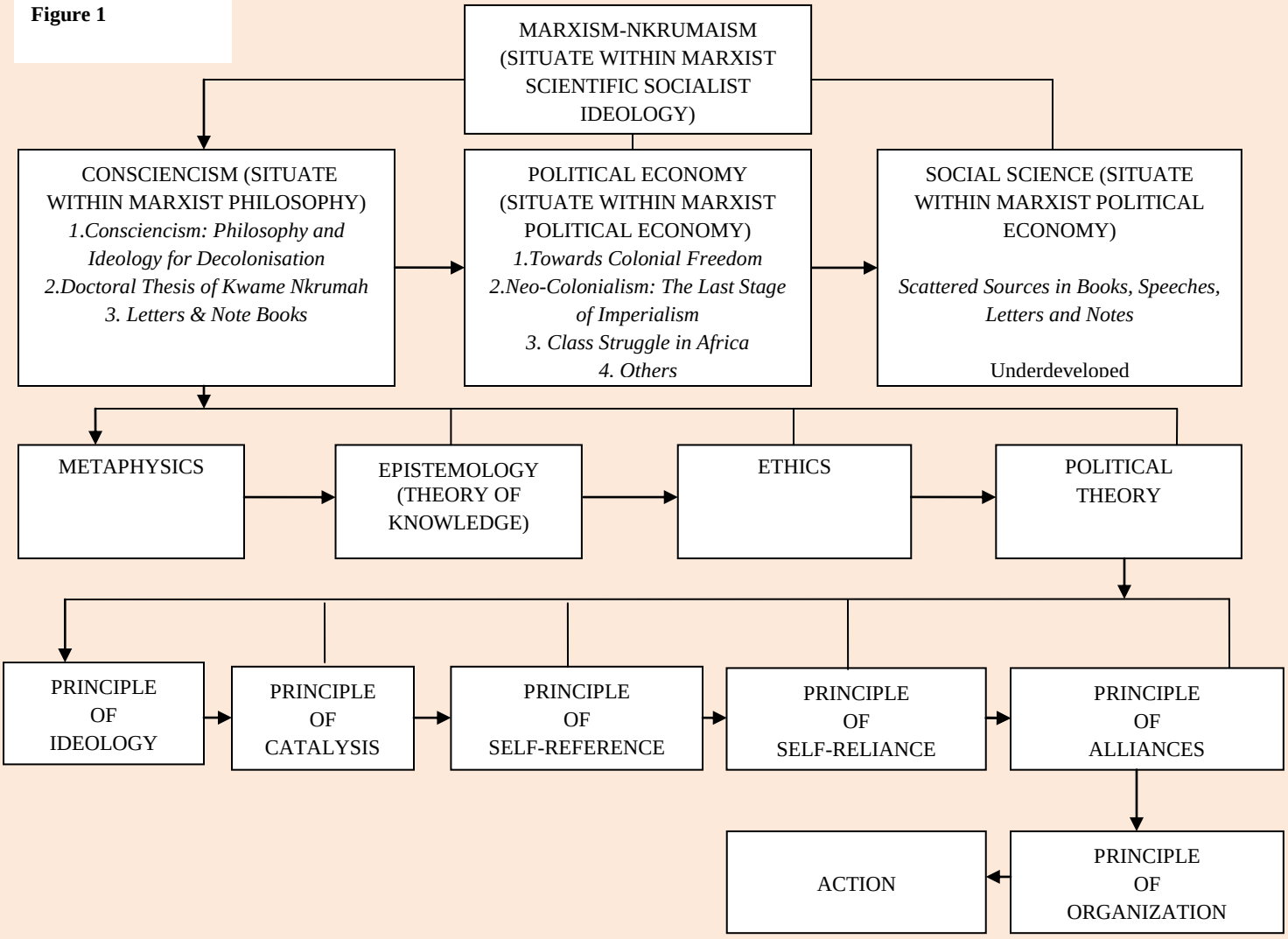
The Democratic Revolution pursues possibilities for revolutionary reforms and takes advantage of such opportunities to initiate and establish People's Power in anticipation of the decisive revolutionary moment when the armed struggle completes the task of installing the working people to exercise their power in their interests. In this effort, some suspicious African-American Fifth Columnists and their continental collaborators must be keenly watched in their functions as *agents provocateurs* for their speedy demobilization. The flag of Marxism-Nkrumaism must be held aloft and defended with red eyes against imperialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism as well as the Black racists[23]. Nothing more. Nothing less.

[23] Marxism-Nkrumaism recognizes the problem of racial discrimination and oppression. In this respect, however, it does not make it an independent absolute capable of being explained and resolved on its own terms; that is, without reference to the class struggle. Marxism-Nkrumaism situates racism and racial oppression within the class struggle and explains them as a symptom but not the cause of that struggle. In this regard, it develops and employs the 'class-race' perspective in its analyses of sections of African society across the world where racial discrimination and oppression subject Black Africans to inhumanities.

To make the question of race absolute is to divert attention from the fundamentality of the class struggle, the elimination of which, Marxism-Nkrumaism contends, abolishes racism and racial discrimination and oppression. Not the other way round. See Kwame Nkrumah, **Class Struggle in Africa,** Chapter 4: Class and Race; and Kwame Nkrumah, **The Spectre of Black Power**. Angela Davis' **Women, Race and Class** is an accessible excellent application of the class-race analytical perspective. These references are a must on the library shelves of all dedicated African professional revolutionaries across the world.

THE IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF MARXISM-NKRUMAISM

Figure 1



KINDLY SEE THE NEXT TWO PAGES FOR GUIDING NOTES ON THIS ORGANOGRAM.

BACK TO CONTENTS

NOTES ON THE ORGANOGRAM

These notes are excerpts from Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's book, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonisation*. Words in brackets have been introduced by the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses. The full explanation of the Ideological System of Marxism-Nkrumaism is provided in *The Mind of Kwame Nkrumah: Manual for the Study of Consciencism* alongside *Consciencism*. You could download a copy of it at www.consciencism.wordpress.com.

METAPHYSICS

The initial assertions of what I put forward as philosophical consciencism are ... twofold. First, there is the assertion of the absolute and independent existence of matter; second, there is the assertion of the capacity of matter for spontaneous self-motion. To the extent of these two initial assertions, philosophical consciencism is deeply materialist.

There is a supreme need to distinguish here between the materialism which is involved in philosophical consciencism and that materialism which implies the sole existence of matter. *Consciencism* page 84.

Philosophical consciencism does not assert the sole reality of matter. Rather it asserts the primary reality of matter. *Page* 88.

The mind-body problem arises in the following manner. If one says that there are only two types of substances, matter and mind, and furthermore allows interaction between them, then the question arises how there can be interaction between substances which are so disparate... if one asserts the sole reality of matter, as extreme materialists do, or if one asserts the sole reality of spirit (mind) as Leibniz must be deemed to have done, then the mind-body problem is solved by removing the conditions in which the perplexity arises. This is to cut the Gordian knot, for now mind and body will not be disparate, but will either both be forms of matter or both be forms of spirit (mind).

In philosophical consciencism, however, the interaction of mind and body is accepted as a fact. The philosophical perplexity which darkens this interaction is removed by the demonstration of the possibility of categorial conversion. *Page* 86.

Philosophical consciencism claims the reality of categorial conversion ... It is this reality of categorial conversion which prompts philosophical consciencism to assert not the sole reality of matter, but its primary reality. *Page* 89.

Strictly speaking, the assertion of the sole reality of matter is atheistic, for pantheism, too, is a species of atheism. Philosophical consciencism, even though deeply rooted in materialism, is not necessarily atheistic. *Page* 84.

FROM METAPHYSICS TO EPISTEMOLOGY

By dialectical change, I mean the emergence of a third factor of a higher logical type from the tension between two factors of a lower logical type. Matter belongs to one logical type, properties and qualities of matter to a higher logical type, properties of properties to an even higher logical type.

This appropriately raises questions of an epistemological nature about consciencism. Epistemological problems are those which concern the nature of knowledge, and its types, and also the avenues to them which are open to the mind. *Page* 90.

FROM EPISTEMOLOGY TO ETHICS

Thought without practice is empty, and philosophical consciencism constantly exhibits areas of practical significance... If philosophical consciencism initially affirms the absolute and independent existence of matter, and holds matter to be endowed with its pristine (pure) objective laws, then philosophical consciencism builds itself by becoming a reflection of the objectivity, in conceptual terms, of the unfolding of matter. When philosophy so restricts itself to the reflection of the unfolding of matter, it also establishes a direct connection between knowledge and action.

But if philosophical consciencism connects knowledge with action, it is still necessary to inquire whether it conceives this connection as a purely mechanistic one (that is, automatic or direct), or whether it makes it susceptible of ethical influence and comment (that is, mediated or connected through the means of ethics). *Pages* 92 and 93.

FROM ETHICS TO POLITICAL THEORY

When a plurality of men exist in society, and it is accepted that each man needs to be treated as an end in himself, not merely as a means, there transpires a transition from ethics to politics. Politics become actual, for institutions need to be created to regulate the behaviour and actions of the plurality of men in society in such a way as to conserve the fundamental ethical principle of the initial worthiness of each individual. Philosophical consciencism consequently adumbrates (that is, outlines) a

political theory and a social-political practice which together seek to ensure that the cardinal principles of ethics are effective. *Page* 98.

IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE

Neo-colonialism is a greater danger to independent countries than is colonialism. Colonialism is crude, essentially overt, and apt to be overcome by a purposeful concert of national effort. In neo-colonialism, however, the people are divided from their leaders and, instead of providing true leadership and guidance which is informed at every point by the ideal of the general welfare, leaders come to neglect the very people who put them in power and incautiously become instruments of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists...

In order to be able to carry out ... resistance to neo-colonialism at every point, positive action requires to be armed with an ideology, an ideology which, vitalizing it and operating through a mass party shall equip it with a regenerative concept of the world and life, forge for it a strong continuing link with our past and offer to it an assured bond with our future. Under the searchlight of an ideology, every fact affecting the life of a people can be assessed and judged, and neo-colonialism's detrimental aspirations and sleights of hand will constantly stand exposed.

In order that this ideology should be comprehensive, in order that it should light up every aspect of the life of our people, in order that it should affect the total interest of our society, establishing a continuity with our past, it must be socialist in form and in content and be embraced by a mass party. *Consciencism* p*age 105*.

The Party has defined a social purpose and it is committed to socialism and to the ideology of Nkrumaism. And I take it to mean that when you talk of Nkrumaism, you mean the name or term given to the consistent ideological policies followed and taught by Kwame Nkrumah. These are contained in his speeches, in his theoretical writings and stated ideas and principles. You also mean that Nkrumaism, in order to be Nkrumaistic, must be related to scientific socialism. Kwame Nkrumah, Address at the First Seminar at the Winneba Ideological School, February 3, 1962 in *Revolutionary Path*, page 172.

PRINCIPLE OF CATALYSIS

This triumph must be accompanied by knowledge. For in the way that the process of natural evolution can be aided by human intervention based upon knowledge, so social evolution can be helped along by political intervention based upon knowledge of the laws of social development. Political action aimed at speeding up social evolution is in the nature of a catalyst.

The need for such a catalyst is created by the fact that natural evolution is always wasteful. It takes place at the cost of massive loss of life and at the cost of extreme anguish. Evolution speeded by scientific knowledge is prompter, and represents an economy of material. In the same way, the catalysis which political action (based on knowledge) introduces into social evolution represents an economy of time, life and talent. *Page 104*.

PRINCIPLE OF SELF-REFERENCE

To destroy imperialistic domination in these forms, political, economic, social and cultural action must always have reference to the needs and nature of the liberated territory, and it is from these needs that the action must derive its authenticity. Unless this self-reference is religiously maintained, a liberated territory will welcome with open arms the very foe which it has sought to destroy at cost of terrible suffering. *Page 103*.

PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE

To allow a foreign country, especially one which is loaded with economic interests in our continent, to tell us what *political* decisions to take, what *political* courses to follow, is indeed for us to hand back our independence to the oppressor on a silver platter. *Page 102*.

PRINCIPLE OF ALLIANCES

Positive action must ... seek an alignment of all forces of progress and, by marshalling them, confront the negative forces. It must at the same time anticipate and contain its own contradictions, for, though positive action unites those forces of a situation which are, in regard to a specific purpose, progressive, many of these forces will contain tendencies which are in other respects reactionary. *Page* 104.

PRINCIPLE OF ORGANIZATION

... it is necessary for positive action to be backed by a mass party. *Page* 100.

Organize! Organize! Organize![24]

[24] © 2013 Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA)

Welcome
To The
Marxist-Nkrumaist Course
In
Philosophical Studies

I am a little surprised at you for suggesting that I should accept an offer to teach. You do not seem to know me yet. You forget that I am a professional revolutionary: the gun without the pen is useless and the pen without the gun is even more useless. My way lies in Action and Struggle. And in struggling and performing these actions, I can teach others in that way....The path I have taken is a lonely path, full of thorns and thistles, but it must be traversed....Do not forget what I have been saying, that the seemingly disastrous state of affairs in Africa today is simply the prelude or, shall I say, the grand rehearsal of the revolution that is to overtake Africa. We must all, joyfully, be prepared...History warns and urges me on, philosophy tells me to be cautious, but scientific socialism tells me to damn all and fight on, adding my quota to the eventual destruction of capitalism and imperialism and to the ushering in of man's total emancipation, where racial discrimination of any kind will be a criminal offence and those who practise racialism shall be considered madmen. We shall overcome - Dr. Kwame Nkrumah writes.

From June Milne's *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years – His Life and Letters* (1990), pp. 294, 73, 342, and 234 respectively.

Mainstream Afrocentricity has served its original purpose. It is now required to go beyond its sole *defensive* concern with proving congenital African capacity for *rationality* and *initiative* to a deep *offensive* concern with current needs of the African Revolution without prejudice to the continued recovery of African history. This course reflects that two-pronged endeavour (offensive and defensive) in its study of Marxism-Nkrumaism. For, Marxism-Nkrumaism further enhances Afrocentricity not only in deepening and expanding the evidence for African primordial rationality and achievement but also critically evaluates that rationality with the view to developing it within the current more complex African reality in the anti-neo-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle for a single united republican nation-state of Africa based on scientific socialism. This is not a mere academic or scholarly effort. It is intellectual: directed at creating a critical mass of Marxist-Nkrumaist professional revolutionaries across Africa and the Diaspora. It is an objective in service of the African Revolution.

INTRODUCTORY WELCOME DISCOURSE

The question as to why we should have a philosophy requires a prior definition of philosophy.

The Sage's English Dictionary and Thesaurus defines philosophy in these terms:

a. A belief (or system of beliefs) accepted as authoritative by some group or school.
b. Any personal belief about how to live or about how to deal with a situation.
c. The rational investigation of questions about existence and knowledge and ethics.

These definitions give us an idea of the different **areas** in which the term 'philosophy' is applied. The first and second sets deal with philosophy as a **belief**. Whereas in the first instance the belief is stated to be authoritative, that is, a belief that a group adopts and imposes on the individual, the second instance has to do with the individual's own belief which may not necessarily be shared with somebody else. The third definition, however, does not have to do with **belief** of anybody but with the examination of certain questions about existence, knowledge and ethics.

It should be clear to us that the third definition, in dealing with questions of existence, ethics and knowledge, covers the areas of belief, nonetheless, as suggested in the first and second definitions above for as long as issues of **belief** are based on the conclusions of **knowledge**: you do not believe what you do not know about; to believe something suggests some knowledge about it. Hence, in the definition of philosophy we are encouraged to see the third definition as all-embracing. In that sense, philosophy comes to be understood as the rational examination of matters of our knowledge about existence and the systems of belief upon which ethical behaviour is constructed.

By that definition, we place absolute emphasis on the term **'rational'**. A rational examination involves the application of principles of thought in an inquiry – which principles must themselves have already been proved and have assumed the status of an axiom, that is, a self-evident proposition like 'The sun rises from the east'. Such an examination has its opposite in practices like the casting of pebbles or such articles on the floor to determine the

answer to a question of, say, theft, human and agricultural infertility. Our anxiety here is not to state the falsehood or otherwise of the latter practices but to distinguish them from the philosophical practice – what defines philosophy.

In the history of philosophy, out of which its definition is derived, philosophers trace that history either to the evolution of thought independently of social evolution (idealism) or to social evolution (materialism). This suggests that the definition of philosophy is subject to the world-outlook of the philosopher concerned. Hence, in defining philosophy as 'the rational examination of matters of our knowledge about existence and the systems of belief upon which ethical behaviour is constructed' this presenter suggests that idealists and materialists have different meanings of that definition. It is such differences that continually pose the questions that philosophy seeks to answer.

Once resolved, such questions drop from the philosophical list into the realm of science where the method of examination or investigation goes beyond the merely rational to empirical laboratory tests. So that in our determination of what philosophy is, we are on the virtual ground of unresolved fundamental questions of science; which, as noted above, drop unto the scientist's table for laboratory determinations through empirical tests after the philosopher has cleared philosophical doubts about those questions. Hence, questions pertaining to the origin of the universe and the primeval substance out of which it is made remain outside the purview of science until philosophy dissolves their clouds of doubt.

In the light of the considerations as to what philosophy is and the conclusion that it is 'the virtual ground of unresolved fundamental questions of science', to suggest that we should have a philosophy might appear to suggest that we should burden ourselves with a load of unresolved issues. To circumvent this suggestion, one might point to the reference to philosophy in the first instance of its definition above as 'a belief system'. The implication of such a system being without unresolved questions or issues can only be understood to be a declaration that the said system is, after all, **not** a philosophy but a science. For, a philosophy necessarily has unresolved issues to grapple with. But whoever says above here that philosophy contains **only** unresolved issues?

In dealing with its unresolved issues, philosophy is said to employ certain principles of thought that have the status of axioms. Such axioms constitute a belief system on the basis of which deductive statements about the facts relating to an unresolved issue are made in efforts to resolve it. Without such a system of beliefs or axioms it is impossible for the philosopher to even begin a rational investigation of any issue. That system of beliefs, as principles of thought, makes up the **method of thinking** when the philosopher is

confronted with an unresolved issue. Given the axiomatic system developed and adopted by a philosopher, the latter's philosophical conclusions are valid if and only if they are consistent with it (the axiomatic system).

Thus, in dealing with an unresolved question a thinking person proceeds from a critically accepted axiomatic system or system of thought – an indispensable tool for reasoning. Without such a tool, thought is without discipline; and without thought discipline, results of any thinking remain consistently erratic. Erratic thoughts are a bundle of contradictions and nothing could be as vexatious as contradictory thoughts. Hence, the need for a thinking person to be armed with an axiomatic thought system which some call 'philosophy' but which is actually only a part, a fundamentally necessary part, of philosophy.

Marxism, in its philosophical exposition, arms any serious thinking person not only with one such philosophical system in which rational investigation of matters of our knowledge about existence and the systems of belief upon which ethical behaviour is constructed but also provides that person with an axiomatic thought system as a tool for the investigation. That tool goes by the philosophical category – dialectical materialism. With this tool, issues that range from metaphysics, epistemology and ethics through the philosophy of history to the philosophy of science are dissected and analysed with great consistency. And in its application to the philosophy of history it generates yet another tool for socio-historical analysis – historical materialism.

In making Africa and African interests the object of our philosophical reflections here we find the application of dialectical and historical materialism as such a tool of analysis. That statement suggests that dialectical and historical materialism here makes African issues its object of investigation. To, thus, place African issues at the centre of dialectical and historical materialist (that is, Marxist) analysis in Africa and thus seek the dynamics of African development from Africans themselves means to render the investigation Afrocentric. In this way, from the perspective of Marxist applications, Afrocentricism is that approach to the study of Africa and African behaviour from the standpoint of *bona fide* African history, society and, therefore, African interests *as African initiatives*. This constitutes Afrocentric Marxism.

But the one most important African philosopher who consciously pursues African issues from the standpoint of Afrocentric Marxism is Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Afrocentric Marxism thus becomes synonymous with the thought system of Dr. Nkrumah who is the *first-known* African philosopher to ever exhibit a combination of Marxist and Afrocentric approaches to the examination of African phenomena and policy formulation. Hence, that thought system, inasmuch as Marxist applications are *central* to it, can only be characterized in its propriety as Marxism-Nkrumaism. That Marxist

applications are *central* to Dr. Nkrumah's thought system find expression not only in his anxiety to show the Marxist thread holding his works together through the publication of his book *Revolutionary Path* but also in our own textual analyses of his literary works, letters and actions from 1943.[25]

***

Central to the Course is the concept of Afrocentricity. We invite you into a discourse of that concept to alert you on what to expect in this Course. It is hoped that this very brief discourse situates you in a position to be a forward-looking student of Africa and its people both on the continent and in the Diaspora. The entire course presentation is premised on that discourse. We expect you to complete the course as a self-confident revolutionary thinker and actor dedicated to the emancipation of all Africans whatever their 'racial' origin.

If Africa was previously referred to as the Land of Blacks, the colonial experience has altered that conception. Today, Africa is inhabited by a multiple of so-called races. The older ones are Black Africans and Berber. The Arab and European incursions unto the continent in comparatively recent centuries have respectively produced Arab African and Afrikaner populations with cultural patterns developed here in Africa. So also has emerged an Indian African population with a culture distinguishable from that of homeland India.

Developing as a cultural melting-pot, Africa is in a transition. As a remarkable feature of all societies in a transition, Africans are rendered culturally schizophrenic such that an African exhibits in thought at least a dual identity. To overcome this transition and forge a common civilization peculiar to the populations of Africa has occupied the thoughts of great Africans over recent decades. Cultural studies have sought to map up a trajectory of cultural fusion among all inhabitants of the continent. This effort is linked to world culture formation.

But since history is never forgotten, the fashioning of a methodology relevant for the study of the emerging cultural crystallization has suffered a moment of

[25] June Milne also reports him as using the category 'Marxism-Nkrumaism' in reference to this thought system in her collection of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's letters and notes as well as conversations in her book *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years*. Crucially, in his speech at the laying of foundation of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute on *February 18, 1961*, Dr. Nkrumah states revealingly that 'The structure of the Convention People's Party has been built up from our own experiences, conditions, environments and concepts entirely Ghanaian and African in outlook, *and based on the Marxist socialist philosophy and worldview.*' See Samuel Obeng*, Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Vol. 2*, pp.11-12 (Italics added). Find this structure in the CPP's Constitution in Kwame Nkrumah*, Revolutionary Path*, pp.58-71. Dr. Nkrumah also tells us that at a meeting in *June 1949* before the CPP was launched it was decided that the CPP 'was to be a mass-based, disciplined party pursuing policies of *scientific socialism*.' Ibid p. 57 (Italics added). His doctoral dissertation of 1943/44 and publications before it exhibit his Marxist philosophical worldview. In addition, his first book, *Towards Colonial Freedom* (1947), is a work in neat Marxist application.

cultural separatism consciously promoted by intellectual representatives of oppressed Black Africans. Emerging from this is the methodological concept of Afrocentricity or Afrocentricism. Constructive at the onset as a correction to false notions about so-called Black African lack of congenital initiative for self-development Afrocentricity now threatens otherwise, unless redefined.

This course of studies ambitiously promises to critically delve into the philosophical efforts being made to construct a methodology appropriate for the analysis of past and newly-emerged African realities. In this respect, the course focuses on evolving a philosophical methodology by which cultural *diversity* is well perceived not as an excuse for cultural *exclusivity* but as a moment for the identification and development of fundamental principles *already* common to current African cultures for the construction of an African nation-state.

This serves as a basis for *essential* cultural harmonization informed by a set of cultural universals for the reaffirmation of all-round African creativity in Africa's continued contribution to world civilization and culture.

In the current course of study, therefore, we weave through the fundamentals of philosophy to grasp the concepts of philosophical discourse and their problematic. The mode of our discussion employs Western and African perspectives to bear on the conceptual discourse. This takes us to an elevated level of critical study of the history of philosophy to grasp the central issues of philosophy in their historical development from Western and African angles – all in a tangential positive critical examination and development of Marxism-Nkrumaism.

***

Current Afrocentricity negates such study schemes. Afrocentricity has increasingly assumed the centre stage in methodological applications in the examination of African realities. Essentially, this is contrasted with Eurocentricity. Whereas Eurocentricity examines African realities from a European angle and, therefore, projects the European and European interests as the agency or vehicle of change and progress in Africa, Afrocentricity assumes the African and African interests as that agency or vehicle by which African society develops.

Assertions in promotion of Afrocentricity seek to portray African *initiative* against Western suggestions that portray the African as one held down by the force of inertia. In the annals of World History, African initiative is perceived to have been historically suppressed to create in the African a sense of congenital helplessness that conditions them to accepting a position of perpetual mental and material subordination to the initiatives of others who

are regarded as *rational* in thought. The African is said to be rather *emotional* as against being *rational*.

Consequently, in the works and activities of Afrocentric advocates and/or practitioners – whether in the fields of the sciences or the arts – there is the tendency to be pre-occupied with engagements to *prove* the African in their historical *initiatives* as kingdom and empire builders, initiators but not *imitators* of ground-breaking theoretical formulations in mathematics and philosophy as well as originators of some dominant religious entities, concepts and practices. Afrocentricists strategically strive to unearth the evidence.

This level in the practice of Afrocentricity so far unearths past *Black* African contributions to world initiatives in the evolution of civilizations. Increasingly, non-Afrocentric writers confirm the scientific validity of Afrocentric claims and even take the further step of making such validated claims the basis of their own research activities. In this respect, Afrocentricity has made significant contributions to the reassertion of the African Personality in the world's community of nations.

Notwithstanding this, the currently overriding definition of Afrocentricity *remains* in its initial conception as a *defensive* methodology derived from the nationalist struggles of these past decades to reassert the African as capable of ruling themselves. Additionally, it assumes elements of retrogression that in fact freeze its horizons within the confines of *Black* African expression. Fixation with the Black African past reacts against the *development* of past discoveries to levels of capability in the analyses of changed African circumstances.

An advance in the Afrocentric concept calls for *critical assessments* of the *philosophico-value systems* of the African past beyond claims that they were of African origin in themselves but not deeds of imitation. Such evaluations must be capable of evolving out of those systems, in historical continuity of the African initiative, new systems that, therefore, emerge from the African historical present. In itself, this requires the use of universal tools of analysis to which Africans have made contributions as Africans influenced by their own environment.

This means that within the context of a developing and more complicated African society, situate within a so-called global village, the play of the universal (that is, cross-culture world uniformities) with the particular (that is, intra-culture uniformities) in fashioning out the destinies of nations requires incorporation in the projected advanced Afrocentricity. The initial awareness of this need dates back to the first half of the 1940s with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's assertion in his doctoral dissertation *Mind and Thought in Primitive Society: A Study in Ethno-Philosophy* to the effect that

> In spite of the variety of beliefs and customs of different cultures, philosophy might furnish concepts which could serve to relate them, and bring about a crystallization of what I call ethnological universals. It is for philosophy to formulate some objective standards of reference by which the merits and demerits of cultures might be evaluated. Such standards are needed to consummate the worthful reality in which human life must find its highest and supreme destiny.

Certainly, this assertion of 'ethnological universals' among different cultures is not restricted to the intra-African cultural milieu but spans across world cultures. In this light, Dr. Nkrumah recognizes the need to supersede parochialism and develop what he calls 'some objective standards of reference', such as the notion of Afrocentricity, to enable us evaluate the merits and demerits of cultures including African culture. Afrocentricity, we are saying, is required now to go beyond its *Black* African focus to the synthesis arising out of interaction with others in Africa and beyond. Dr. Nkrumah expands on this at the same source at length thus:

> Today, the problem of the so-called "primitive" people is both economic and political. It is the product of many decades of intercultural contact and adjustment during which time Europeans and "primitive" people have exercised a growing influence on each other's life. Under the influence of Western civilization many "primitive" people are abandoning their original tribal customs and social life through the introduction of economic, social, political and religious views of Europeans. On the other hand, the presence of "primitive" people is so profoundly affecting the social and economic movements that it has become an indispensable part of the whole societal structure wherever these contacts are made. From many angles, it seems impossible for "primitive" and "civilized" men to develop as part of each other. The future welfare of the countries where the cultural contacts are made now depends upon finding some social, economic and political system in which both peoples may live in close contact and peace.

The new content of Afrocentricity that Dr. Nkrumah propounds is founded in the fact that by calling on Africans to 'combine the best in Western civilization with the best in African culture' he sees an African 'nevertheless attached to their environment'. He then concludes that 'on this ground can Africa create a new and distinct civilization in the process of world advancement'. This utilization of 'ethnological universals' derived from a cultural mix, which is the reality of the African condition today, does not subvert African initiative but enhances it. He calls the old Afrocentricity 'this simple mono-plane which has brought us to this strange field of ethno-philosophy'. In *Consciencism*, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah makes an even more definitive statement of his position along the same lines.

Current Afrocentric studies, sharing a methodology with the presently assailed ethno-philosophy dimension of African Philosophy, we hold, end up as mere *eulogies* of the *Black* African past and stand in rejection of so-called white studies the basic concepts of which they nevertheless trace to Black African origination. Such contradictory racist orientations are not encouraged in our philosophical studies here although, under African Philosophy, we examine them from their sources as areas of interest necessary for critical examination.

Mainstream Afrocentricity has served its original purpose. It is now required to go beyond its sole *defensive* concern with proving congenital African capacity for *rationality* and *initiative* to a deep *offensive* concern with current needs of the African Revolution without prejudice to the continued recovery of African history. This course reflects that two-pronged endeavour (offensive and defensive) in its study of Marxism-Nkrumaism.

For, Marxism-Nkrumaism further enhances Afrocentricity not only in deepening and expanding the evidence for African primordial rationality and achievement but also critically evaluates that rationality with the view to developing it within the current more complex African reality in the anti-neo-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle for a single united republican nation-state of Africa based on scientific socialism.

This is not a mere academic or scholarly effort. It is intellectual: directed at creating a critical mass of Marxist-Nkrumaist professional revolutionaries across Africa and the Diaspora. It is an objective in service of the African Revolution.

***

Study of African Philosophy is relatively a recent phenomenon in academia. In the 1970s it still had no place in the university curriculum. What Prof. Kwasi Wiredu says about African Philosophy regarding the immediate post-independence era remains true about the second half of the 1970s. Regarding that era he says that unlike African religion which had books written on it and was actually mentioned in university teaching, African philosophy did not. He puts it thus:

> The position was markedly different as regards African philosophy. Philosophy departments tended not to develop the impression that there was any such thing. I graduated from the University of Ghana in 1958 after at least five years of undergraduate study. In all those years I was not once exposed to the concept of African philosophy. J. B. Danquah's *The Akan Doctrine of God, subtitled A Fragment of Gold Coast Ethics*, had been published in 1945. Yet for all the information that was made available at the Department of Philosophy, that would have remained a secret to me if I hadn't made acquaintance with it in

> my own private reading in secondary school. I do not now remember what else in the literature relevant to African philosophy I knew by the time of graduation (1958) … (Introduction: African Philosophy in our Time, *A Companion to African Philosophy*, PDF version, 2004, p. 1).

These same expressions can justifiably be made about the late 1970s when in 1978 this author completed his three-year undergraduate studies at the University of Ghana under Prof. Wiredu who was, during the period, the Head of the Department of Philosophy: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's *Consciencism,* subtitled *Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation* had been published in 1964. Yet for all the information that was made available at the Department of Philosophy, that would have remained a secret to this author if he hadn't made acquaintance with it in his private reading in secondary school, the Accra High School.

To be historically exact and fair to Prof. Wiredu, he had personally shown a pre-publication copy of *Consciencism* to the author, then his student. That was, however, just to make a curious implicit suggestion that that book, which he said Prof. W. E. Abraham had given to him at the stage of editing, might not have been written by Dr. Nkrumah; for, the phrase 'the President' had been cancelled and replaced in handwriting with the pronoun 'I'. Nothing else was discussed. By the way, we have here used the phrase 'this author' or 'the author'. In case, upon advice, we change it to 'I' in a galley, would our authorship need be doubted?

In the 1970s there was a relative dearth of philosophical material that would have engaged African Philosophers for at least academic and pedagogic purposes. We say 'relative' because the situation was worse at the close of the 1950s. What material was then available was embedded in anthropological and religious studies. In the 1970s although the situation had not changed much, publications like Dr. Nkrumah's *Consciencism* (1964) had been made in addition to his doctoral dissertation referred to above. But the symbolic making of a bonfire out of his books and, therefore, his ideas in a moment of academic barbarity and frenzy at the University of Ghana in 1966 served as a damper to evolving African Philosophy.

Dr. Nkrumah was in the process of gathering African philosophical material scattered over the world at the time of his overthrow. As the first Chancellor of the University of Ghana, he reports to the academic gathering on the occasion of the inauguration of the university on November 25, 1961 to 'have asked Mr. William Abraham, a product of this university and a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, to work on the life, times and philosophy of Anthony William Amo', stating this to be 'in our endeavour to organise and promote researches into the African background and history and to assess the full structure of this period'. (See 'Flower of Learning 1' in Samuel Obeng's *Selected Speeches of*

Kwame Nkrumah, Vol. 2). Confirming this report and his own collaboration in his 'Amo's Critique of Descartes' Philosophy of Mind' in *A Companion to African Philosophy*, p. 200, Prof. Wiredu states that

> Anton Wilhelm Amo … became a respected professor of philosophy and wrote a number of works, among which was *The Rights of Negroes in Europe*. In 1959 William E. Abraham, on the suggestion of Kwame Nkrumah, then President (sic) of Ghana, and I, as a fellow traveler of the former, searched in libraries in Europe and could not find this work. Unfortunately, it may be lost. Some of his other works are, however, extant, including his inaugural dissertation, *The Apatheia of the Human Mind* (1734), translated from the Latin by Abraham, which is the subject of this discussion.

This spirit of enthusiasm for the collection of scholarship material for research purposes was not an isolated trait. It reflected a programme. In fact, on the occasion of the opening of the George Padmore Memorial Library on June 30, 1961, Dr. Nkrumah had observed that 'There is indeed an urgent need for a centre of research into the life of the people of the African continent to which the student can turn for current information and historical narratives in this period of tremendous change and political upheaval.' He adds therein that 'this library ... will provide the raw material of scholarship on the whole of Africa.' See p. 126 of Obeng's *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 2. At p. 127, he elaborates thus:

> A good national library is at once the repository of a nation's culture and wisdom and an intellectual stimulant. In this library, there shall be no national frontiers: for here shall be stored the cumulative experience, the collective wisdom and knowledge about the entire continent of Africa and the assessment, revaluation and studies of observers from all over the world... We can look forward to the time when a unified bibliography of Africa outlining the progress and achievements of the African peoples will be made available.

To this effect, the project Encyclopaedia Africana came into being under Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. It was, however, not all about the collection and classification of data. Such data were to be subjected to methods of critical independent thought.

***

In December, 1960, Dr. Nkrumah had appointed an International Commission on University Education which considered certain objectives to be appropriate to the universities in Ghana. The second among those objectives, stated in the 'Flower of Learning 1' speech, intended 'To equip students with an understanding of the contemporary world and, within this framework, of African civilizations, their histories, institutions and ideas'. The fourth sought 'To enable students to acquire methods of critical independent thought, while

at the same time recognizing their responsibility to use their education for the benefit of the peoples of Ghana, Africa and of the world' (p. 144).

Particularly important for African Philosophy is the reference to 'ideas' and 'methods of critical independent thought' and their 'use ... for the benefit of the peoples...' – thus connecting *philosophy* with *social development*. In this section, let us make a cursory glance at the question of evaluation which requires methods of critical independent thought. Dr. Nkrumah's thoughts and endeavours in this respect are placed in context on the occasion of the opening of the British Science exhibition on June 13, 1962 thus:

> We in Africa ... require to carry out in a decade what it has taken other peoples and nations centuries to achieve. This demands a revolution not only in the existing political and social order, but also in the substance and structure of our education in order that we can keep pace with the swift scientific and technological advance achieved in other parts of the world. (See Samuel Obeng's *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Vol. 2*, p. 102)

Six months later, December 12, 1962, when he meets and addresses scholars at the First International Congress of Africanists at the University of Ghana he traces the stages in the development of African Studies as a *scientific* endeavour. He sees the initial stage in the '*imaginings* of the ancient geographers' when 'an inaccurate and distorted picture of Africa often emerged'. Alongside these imaginings, scientific curiosity produced 'some genuine knowledge of the African Continent' among the ancients from traveller sources.

At the next stage, after a lapse when such foreign knowledge of Africa was static, Arabs and Chinese discovered a succession of African kingdoms and recorded the state of civilization at the time. This marked an 'interest in the power of the African mind'. The European advent was the third stage which is divided into the period between the ancient times and the 16th century when scientific curiosity reigned and the period when 'interest in the economic exploitation of Africa' occasioned a forgetfulness of what had been known of Africa's mind.

'The point I wish to make at this stage', Dr. Nkrumah states, 'is that much of European and American writing on Africa was at that time apologetic. It was devoted to an attempt to justify slavery and the continued exploitation of African labour and resources. African Studies in Europe and America were thus at their lowest ebb *scientifically*.' The abolition of the slave trade, he explains, occasioned accounts of African society being made in justification of colonialism as a duty of civilization. Such writings lacked '*objectivity* and *truth'*.

The fourth stage involves the works at 'learned centres in Africa' where such works, like that of Dr. Dike on Politics and Trade in the Niger Delta, reflect 'a new African-centred approach' in the study of relations between Africa and Europe. By that approach is meant that the African and European contact 'is being written as an African experience and not as a European adventure'. This is directed at 'our authentic reinterpretation of our past', Dr. Nkrumah says in his speech 'Africa's Glorious Past'. (See the *Selected Speeches*, Vol. 3)

In this reinterpretation, he observes that the current Africanists' 'efforts mark a *renascence* of *scientific* curiosity in the study of Africa' and thereby urges that such efforts 'should be directed at an *objective*, *impartial scrutiny* and *assessment* of things African.' This suggests that the collection of material is *not* enough. It must be accompanied with a reinterpretation that calls for an Afrocentric methodology ('African-centred approach') committed to the best practices of science: *objectivity*, *impartiality* and *assessment*. That means 'rediscovering and revitalising our cultural and spiritual heritage and *values'*.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, therefore, gives no space for a so-called value-free science. For, in his estimation and finding, the European 'system of education [and, therefore, direction of training] prepared us for a subservient role to Europe and things European' and 'was directed at estranging us from our own cultures in order the more effectively to serve a new and alien *interest*.' Certainly, there is nothing like 'science for the sake of science'. Science and its products are directed at serving the *needs* of society that express themselves in its *interests* which define its *values*. The *assessment* of these *values* is a generational task.

The need for such assessments reflects the dynamic nature of society which propels it in a series of transformations. Those transformations subject society to dialectical changes which derive one form of the society from another form, from the primitive form to the barbaric form, from the barbaric to the civilized form, from the classless to the class form, and from the class form to a more sophisticated classless form. In all these manifestations of social existence the ends that science serves depend on *who* possesses it. Thus the fact of Africa's past achievement does not condemn it to a *fixation* on the *values* of that achievement.

It is here that Dr. Nkrumah connects the student's scientific pursuits with responsibility for their use for the benefit of society. That is, he endorses the objective set by the International Commission on University Education 'To enable students to acquire methods of critical independent thought, while at the same time recognizing their responsibility to use their education for the benefit of the peoples of Ghana, Africa and of the world'. We might call this the instrumentalist conception of education.

It is a constant theme in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's thought. Preceding the 'Africa's Glorious Past' speech, from which we have been quoting statements in this section, he makes a second 'Flower of Learning' speech on November 29, 1961 during the inauguration of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology where he pointedly states at length to the effect that

> In the distant past, universities were almost isolated from the life of a nation. But in this age, this is neither desirable nor possible. In our time, universities are looked upon almost as if they were the heart of the nation, essential to its life and progress. The very meaning of the word "academic" has changed. It no longer has the connotation of the abstract and sterile, for the academic has become both the functionary and the seer. The ivory tower concept of university is dead (and may it rest in peace!). (See Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Vol. 2*, p. 153.)

***

A critical look at what African Philosophers are doing today in universities across Africa and other parts of the world regarding their academic and pedagogic practice might tend to suggest that the barbaric frenzy that in a *gbeshie* (bad spirit) fashion held the mind and hearts of the academic Establishment and threw them into tantrums leading to their setting of Dr. Nkrumah's books, and, therefore, ideas, ablaze in bonfires is releasing its hold for a reconsideration of his works, though, at this stage, in a reserved manner. This positive development requires an examination of the methodological health of African Philosophy from the perspective of the instrumentalist conception of education.

Here, Prof. Kwasi Wiredu comes in handy with his summary discussion of what appears as the *methodological history* of African Philosophy, though not from that perspective. In his 'Introduction: African Philosophy in Our Time', *A Companion to African Philosophy*, he identifies 'a quest for self-definition' not only as a principal driving force of African Philosophy in the post-colonial era but also equates it with a 'search of identity'. He then places this search within the context of 'a general post-colonial soul-searching in Africa'.

On the premise of the European perception of African culture being inferior, Prof. Wiredu says, colonialists pursued a systematic de-Africanization programme. Research in African Studies in the areas of religion and anthropology consequently subjected African ideas and modes of thought to compatibility with those of Christianity and European researchers such that incompatibility was grounds for the African alternatives being considered to be wrong or mistaken. This is a *model of exposition* with a cross-cultural indirect evaluative element.

That model of exposition is necessarily narrative and interpretative but not *speculative*. In this regard, Prof. Wiredu apparently employs 'speculative' as the philosophical practice of *reasoning* as to the validity of ideas but not the free exercise of the imagination regarding the possibility of certain *facts*. The expository methodology mentioned, therefore, does not subject African ideas *in themselves* to critical analysis for their validity or otherwise but only in their *comparison* with European ideas which latter ideas European philosophers evaluate.

With the emergence of African Philosophy in the post-colonial era, this colonial expository methodology immanent in the works of writers like 'Evans-Pritchard (1937); Forde (1954); Herskovits (1938); Rattray (1923); and Smith (1950)' influences African Philosophers. For, the relevant preliminary philosophical materials for the latter's own works are found in those previous writings whose expository approach the philosophers adopt by default. Prof. Wiredu sees the emergent approach as the 'anthropology-like approach in African philosophy' but prefers to call it 'the traditionalist approach to African philosophy'.

In spite of the 'unmistakable affinities of approach' between the traditionalist approach and its colonial antecedent the former is born of a 'nationalistic spirit that brooked no nonsense about the possibility of error within African traditional thinking'; that is, unlike the latter that proceeds from an assumption of African inferiority that requires de-Africanization. Hence, it appears clear that the traditionalist approach or methodology is an African reaction to the colonial deconstruction of African culture. But, according to Prof. Wiredu, philosophy, for some other African Philosophers, is not merely narrative; *evaluation* is an essential aspect.

On the basis of this understanding, African philosophers are not to 'content themselves with just informing others of the ideas entertained by their communities; they should also concern themselves with figuring out, for their own enlightenment and, perhaps, that of others, what in them is true, if any, and what is false, if any.' For the critics of traditionalist methodology, therefore, African Philosophy is identified not only as a narrative but even more importantly as *evaluative* of ideas *prevailing* in African communities. This does not suggest, at least on the face of it, *creation* of *new* ideas but the *evaluation* of those *created* – though such evaluations beget new ideas.

The critics are also not happy with the assumption of the traditionalists that a whole culture has a common philosophy. This arises out of the fact that philosophy is undertaken as an individual activity. As such differences of opinion exist. The lack of attribution of specific opinions to specifically named individuals is the point of the objection. Added to all this is the absence of writing and dependence on oral sources. But these critics are not unanimous in their criticism of the traditionalist approach. Some are prepared to accept the attribution of a philosophy to a whole people.

Among this subset, Prof. Wiredu says of himself thus:

> My main unhappiness with the traditionalist approach derives from its insufficiently critical stance. Just as there was an element of implied evaluation in the accounts of African thought offered by the anthropologists and specialists in religion, there is an evaluation implicit in traditionalist accounts. The difference is only that whereas in the former case, particularly, where the authors concerned were Western scholars, the evaluations tended, *by and large*, to be negative, in the latter they have uniformly tended to be positive. In itself, that is no problem. But there are, among traditionalists, as hinted above, clear indications of impatience with any suggestion, on the part of an African philosopher, that philosophical fallibility might possibly be encountered in the thought of our ancestors or that there might be some aspect of an African culture that could be less than ideal from a philosophical point of view.

The possible counter-objection to this claim of the presence of evaluation in the traditionalist approach, if even just implied, could be that what Prof. Wiredu calls for is not a *cross*-culture evaluation but an *intra*-culture evaluation. The two are not the same but he appears not to observe this difference. Certainly, the traditionalist view, in spite of its affinities with the Western practice, does not engage in *cross*-culture evaluation, as the latter does, but is rather *defensive*. It tries to *exhibit* African achievement and initiative in refutation of Western claims to the contrary; hence, the appearance of its positivity as against Western negativity.

In his call for intra-culture evaluation, Prof. Wiredu resists the traditionalists' *restriction* of African philosophy to issues relating to traditional African thought or African origination. By this he does not reject the study of traditional African thought. Indeed, he sees 'the need for a proper sense of African priorities' in which he includes 'a careful study of African traditional thought'. His concern is with the need 'to domesticate any useful modern resources of knowledge and reflection not already to hand'. For, he says, what 'makes Africa modern' includes the ability for such *domestication*.

Whatever 'resources of knowledge and reflection' might connote it includes principles or tools for analysis, which only could be *generalized* through domestication but not material facts which are particular and cannot be generalized. For instance, state legislation for gay marriage in certain Western societies is a material fact that cannot be the basis for the abstraction of a principle of state behaviour for *all* human societies. What is generalized is universalized. So that the effect of Prof. Wiredu's resistance and insistence sums up to the understanding that *intra*-culture evaluation is *complemented* with *extra*-culture tools.

Certainly, the use of 'domestication' rather than 'application' in Prof. Wiredu's formulation strikes a chord of discomfort. It connotes 'importation'. What is imported has no *original* root in its new environ and requires *adaption*. Its domestication means its provision with *altered* roots for self-growth and development in the new location. But what is *applied* in science and reflection might not have been previously noticed to exist in the new environ. In this

sense, application connotes 'rediscovery'. For, what is applied as an externally originated phenomenon must be seen to have been operational *all along* without being discovered.

Application of a foreign idea, so to say, means its *rediscovery* in the local situation whereby only the force of circumstances might have delayed its discovery in the first instance for elaboration and use. This is the sense in which 'adaption' is differentiated from 'adoption'. Whereas 'adaption' connotes 'change of something for suitable use in a different situation or location', 'adoption' connotes 'use of something without changing it'. So that the parallels are 'adaption = domestication' and 'adoption = application'. For sure, Prof. Wiredu is really talking about 'application' and not 'domestication'; 'adoption' and not 'adaption'.

In real terms, we can illustrate this very important practice with the principle of dialectics. It is a principle that is operational in its complexity in *all* societies and nature. But its discovery in Europe by Heraclitus (pre-dating Ibn Khaldun's *The Muqaddimah*) as developed through Hegel and Marx was due to the force of circumstances. Its *application* thereafter in other societies, including African society, has not required and does not require any *alteration* to it *anywhere*. Whatever aspect of it might be found to require such an alteration would apply *universally*. That suggests its *development* but not *adaption*. It is applied, not domesticated.

From the foregoing, we are left in no doubt that what modern African Philosophers are in struggle to define for themselves are already established in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speeches such as his addresses to academicians and scholars at the University of Ghana (Flower of Learning 1), the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (Flower of Learning 2) and Africanists at the University of Ghana (Africa's Glorious Past) as well as books like *Consciencism*, *Africa Must Unite* and *Mind in Primitive Society* (a doctoral dissertation). The question is why the lack of interest in his works? The answer is still *gbeshie* (bad spirit)!

To conclude this discourse, we observe that a clear consequence of the critique of the traditionalist approach among African Philosophers is the pursuit of their *own* enlightenment (self-enlightenment) about the *fait accompli*, what others have done. It is not difficult in this respect to strike an essential similarity between the traditionalist and contemporary or modern practices. For, concerned only with what has been done, both of them stand outside the furnace of *today's* struggles of the African. When conscience calls upon them to make a contribution to the day's problem-resolution they mechanistically resurrect the past.

Old Karl Marx looks across such practices in his 19th century European days and quietly moans in the tenth thesis on Feuerbach to this effect: 'The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it'. It is envisaged that with increasing attention paid to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Marxist-Nkrumaist philosophy *within* African Philosophy – thanks to the diminution of the 1966 academic and scholarly

barbarity displayed against him - the latter attains maturity in self-definition to restore the ivory tower to the creative edifice that Dr. Nkrumah projects it to be for collective African achievement.

To this end we once again welcome you as a potential student of Marxism-Nkrumaism with great hopes that this online course does not only represent the resuscitation of the spirit of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Ideological Studies but also significantly equips you as an African professional revolutionary. As a student you are part of the resuscitation drive. See below for the Course Structure in outline.

COURSE STRUCTURE

Course One: Introduction to Philosophy

1. Philosophical Concepts
2. Logic

Course Two: History of Philosophy

1. Development of Egalitarianism in Ancient and Mediaeval Philosophy
2. Development of Egalitarianism in Modern Philosophy
3. Dialectics and Revolution in Ancient Philosophy
4. Dialectics and Revolution in Modern Philosophy

Course Three: Marxist Philosophy

1. Early Period: Philosophical Endeavours
2. Critiques and Constructions
3. Interpreters after Marx and Engels (Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, Mao, Kim, etc.)

Course Four: African Philosophy

1. Defining African Philosophy
2. Themes of African Philosophy

Course Five: Consciencism

1. Introduction: A Study of Nkrumah's Doctoral Dissertation
2. Textual Analysis Tracing Themes
3. Centrality of *Categorial Conversion* as a Contribution to Marxist Thought

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

BACK TO CONTENTS

Applications

ON THE QUESTION OF WHO FOUNDED GHANA

CONSTRUCTING AND EXECUTING THE STRATEGY FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF SOVEREIGN NATION-STATEHOOD

A STUDY OF NATION-STATE FORMATION IN GHANA

Lang T.K.A. Nubuor

CONTENTS

Summary Discussion

I. DEFINING THE QUESTION

II. PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS

III. ORIGIN OF ANTI-COLONIAL RESISTANCE

IV. DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI-COLONIAL RESISTANCE

1. **The Fanti Confederation**
2. **The Aborigines Rights Protection Society**
3. **National Congress of British West Africa**
4. **United Gold Coast Convention**
5. **Convention People's Party**

V. CONCLUSIONS

VI. LIMITATIONS OF THIS PAPER

In the hour of triumph we should look back and give thanks to all the statesmen who down the years had worked and striven to make possible the attainment of our independence, and to all those who had more recently played their part, both great and small, in bringing our struggle to its close.

'In this solemn hour', I concluded, 'let us not merely rejoice because we have reached our goal. Let us not merely make merry because our dearest hope has been fulfilled. Let us think first and foremost of the best interests of our country. Let us put aside petty political controversy and intrigues and lay a firm and stable foundation for the political structure of Ghana. May your thoughts, your deeds and your prayers strengthen and sustain the statesmanship of the nation.'

***Dr. Kwame Nkrumah*, Ghana: Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, *p. 290*.**

Author's Word

Revolution is an art. It has been stated. Revolution is a science. Others have held. These are an expression of seeing the elephant from different angles. Revolution is both an art and a science. As a science it is studied to track down its laws of motion. As an art it involves a plot in which actors play roles that come to them as a matter of course. The point, therefore, is to be armed with the knowledge of these laws and apply them not only in analysing specific situations in their historical context in order to decide on what action to take but also in the selection of the actors for specific roles. Those in the vanguard and those in the mass complement and constitute a whole – the mass being the prime agency of change. The efficiency of the vanguard resides in its ability to gauge the dispositions of the mass and the enemy's strength. To act immediately in a particular direction or postpone action until future conditions permit depends on that ability. In the current situation the revolutionary creates those future conditions to later realize the immediately impossible. Revolution is the game of the one immersed in theory as well as in practice. This is the lesson of the revolutionary life of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, part of which is reflected in the following pages.

Summary Discussion

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

Certain considerations on whether September 21st should be legislated as "The Founder's Day" or "The Founders' Day" in Ghana have tended to be based on the quest for national unity and peace - disregarding respect for historical facts. The facts of history indeed suggest that national unity and peace founded on a distorted history cannot stand the test of time. Any instrumentalist conception of history in such endeavours can only be Machiavellian and cannot be worthy of a self-respecting Parliament or Legislature.

In Dr. J. B. Danquah's very instructive paper, 'The Historical Significance of the Bond of 1844', published in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol.3 No.1 (1957), he sets forth the criterion for determining who could be credited with the accolade of being a 'founder' in history. He scholarly presents a powerful legal analysis of the Bond of 1844 (normally understood to have created the Gold Coast Colony) to argue out that the founding of the Gold Coast Colony cannot be credited to Governor George Maclean, who constructed the Bond, since he was **not interested in territorial expansion although the conditions he fostered led to it**.

In the definition of a founder, our mind is essentially directed to synonyms like "creator", "originator", "initiator" and also "organizer". In this respect, *The Sage English Dictionary* defines the verb "to found" as '(to) set up or lay the groundwork for'. Central to this understanding is the object or process that is founded. That object or process symbolizes the aim and intention of the creator, the originator, the initiator, the organizer. Hence, it becomes necessary for us to determine the scope of the founder's aim and intention in their undertaking – they must show **interest** in the undertaking.

In the historical process, where that scope exhibits continual development of the aim and intention in order for the said aim and intention to assume final definition for an epoch, it behoves on us to determine their origin and evolution either in the individual founder or founding group. It is possible then that the origin and evolution of a concept find final definition in the mind and actions of an individual or group of individuals over a certain time frame.

Hence, in our appreciation of the specific phenomenon of nationalist struggle in Ghana the question arises as to whether the Fanti Confederation, as the so-called initial African response to British domination in Ghana, conceived African nationalism as **the unity and liberation of Africans** beyond the

narrow premises of the "Fanti State"; as to whether the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) similarly had the said conception; as to whether the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) did likewise; as to whether the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) projected its aim and intention in that same vein; and, finally, as to whether Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) had the concept. These are landmark organizations in the history of Ghana.

The Fanti Confederation, on its part, was initially and essentially a war machine uniting the "Fanti States" against Asante access to the sea upon the British-Dutch unilateral agreement to exchange forts – a deed that placed Fanti areas under the Dutch trading friends of the Asante and threatened to eliminate the Fanti from their middleman position in the trade with the interior. They fought both the Dutch and the Asante but not the British who they felt had betrayed them in abandoning them as a protectorate; for which reason they set up a veritable protest tribal 'self-government' whose Constitution they submitted to the British who in turn rejected it, re-established their control while tightening their grip on them till they formalized the evolved *de facto* relationship in the 1874 Proclamation.

The ARPS, on the other hand, as a protest movement protesting British Land Bills and other laws, never lost an opportunity, however, to assure its allegiance to the British Crown. Despite this, unlike the Fanti Confederation, it resisted the British and set its horizons beyond the Fanti tribal enclave and projected a Pan-African vision; for which reason it is here credited as the first but bourgeois nationalist movement in Gold Coast history. The Pan-African orientation of the NCBWA was rather short-lived but not without its impact. Certainly, no historian of African nationalism worth their calling ever denies Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's **ultimate and holistic** conception of African Nationalism ***as the pursuit of the unity and liberation of Africans across tribal, ethnic and racial entities over the entire continent (including Ghana) for the creation of a single socialist Republican State of Africa***.

It is that concept which informs his political understanding and pursuits – in theory and action. It is that concept which commits him, with a singleness of purpose, to resist and triumph over not just colonialism but also centrifugal forces that oppose his centripetal drive for a unitary state over a territory that incorporates not just the Gold Coast Colony but also the Asante Kingdom, the Northern Territories and Trans-Volta/Togoland; which latter, at least, might otherwise not have been part of the geographical space now defined as Ghana. He conceived Ghana as an independent sovereign unitary socialist Republican State and successfully pursued and realized that concept until his 1966 overthrow after which Ghana remained a unitary Republican State

trimmed of its socialist aspirations but transformed into the neo-colonial state of today. The socialist struggle for reversal continues.

As a **geographical and topographical** entity in its current dimensions, Ghana is the creation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. As a **unitary** State, Ghana is the creation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. As a **republican** state, Ghana is the creation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. But as a **liberated** territory in the theatre of the on-going Pan-African national liberation and revolutionary struggle Dr. Kwame Nkrumah represents **the defining moment** of more than a half century-old resistance (since 1894) with all its contradictions some of which retarded the pace of that struggle and continue to do just that. This latter explains why he calls on us in the above citation to acknowledge the contributions of past and present statesmen to the **independence** struggle. He consummates that struggle in application of a sophisticated blend of revolutionary direction with pragmatic considerations of the moment.

We are saying that defining nationalism in terms of **unity and liberation**, Dr. Nkrumah combines in his being the single-minded **creator** of the current geographical and topographical **dimensions** of Ghana as a nation-state which he then, as the **only consistent strategizing inheritor** of a tradition of resistance, liberates from imperialism and colonialism and transforms it into a **unitary Republic**. The dialectical linkage of these two aspects of African Nationalism in his revolutionary practice remains the unique application that ultimately defines him as THE FOUNDER of the Republic of Ghana - **constructing and executing the strategy for the attainment of Ghana as a sovereign nation-state**. That accolade can never be correctly shared with **defeated inconsistent narrow-minded and consistently obstructionist** compatriots pre-occupied with parochial tribal, ethnic, feudal-cum-neo-colonial and middle-class concerns in neglect of the interests of the masses – the vast majority.

And for no reason of political urgency whatsoever, be it the quest for national unity or peace, should the truth of history be compromised in favour of such compatriots who, in the spirit of unbending consistency and fortitude characteristic of Dr. Nkrumah, must rather be made to acknowledge this truth of history and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's own veritable and unique position in Ghana and Africa. No need to unjustifiably (and, therefore, in distortion of history) appease and attract them to the unity and liberation project for a socialist united Africa since the tide of history has its own way of throwing such obstacles into political and historical oblivion. Only that spirit in stance, historically proven, ever makes them acknowledge reality which might otherwise throw them into political obscurity.

As it is, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is the first of his kind; incomparable to his compatriots among whom he stands tall not as a first among equals but as the Giant among the dwarfs – complete poles apart. He, it is, who lays the groundwork for the unfinished task of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism with Ghana as the **starting point** on the continent in the process of creating a single African Nation-State. Indeed, the 1960 Republican Constitution of Ghana, under his initiative, **statutorily** provided in separate articles for the respective creation and subsequent dissolution of the Republic of Ghana in preparedness for the eventual creation and establishment of a single Republican State of Africa.

In all these endeavours, Dr. Nkrumah followed the agenda of The Circle – a secret vanguard Marxist socialist organization with a restricted membership created in 1945 after the 5th Pan-African Congress of that year – for the creation of a single socialist state in West Africa as a whole. Members were expected to join and operate in other organizations all over Africa to influence them along the line of the ideological programme of The Circle's agenda against imperialism and colonialism. The Circle was to emerge later as an independent political party. The leader of The Circle was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah himself.

Thus, in the placement of the apostrophe "s" on September 21st in Ghana the apostrophe comes before the "s" but not after it: it is "THE FOUNDER'S DAY", not "THE FOUNDERS' DAY". History has long recorded this fact on the pedestal of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's statue in front of the old Parliament House where we find the inscription 'FOUNDER OF THE NATION'. It cannot be re-written in distortion and for whatever reason.

To this effect, we salute the memory of Prof. John Evans Atta Mills for his proclamation of "THE FOUNDER'S DAY" in Ghana on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's birthday – a proclamation that still awaits legislation which is irritatingly long overdue. This proclamation was made on the basis of Prof. Atta Mills' election campaign promise in 2008. Majority of Ghanaians accepted the idea and voted for him as President.

In turn, he honoured his word and accordingly proclaimed the birthday of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah appropriately as "THE FOUNDER'S DAY". For once, a politician honoured a promise – a people's wish fulfilled.

Let those who have inherited him consummate the act in Parliament but not betray him as the next great betrayal after the notorious coup d'état of 1966.

September 25th 2013 – November 15th, 2013

I

Defining the Question

The question of who founded Ghana requires definition. In the current debate, a working definition appears neglected; but it is required if we are not to speak at cross-purposes particularly within the Left or progressive forces. Such absence at times leads to a trivialization of the question in terms of who first suggested the name "Ghana" as a replacement for "Gold Coast" – as Prof. Mike Ocquaye does. Ghana is an independent sovereign unitary republican nation-state. In this paper, we address the question as to *who politically conceived and pursued the concept of Ghana as such an independent sovereign unitary republican nation-state within its currently forged geographical and topographical dimensions*.

"Topography" is defined in *The Sage's English Dictionary* as 'The configuration (outline) of a surface and the relations among its man-made and natural features'. As is well known, the constitution of Ghana as a politico-geographical entity had to be decided through a plebiscite in 1956. In the same way, the determination of whether Ghana should be a unitary or federal State and a Republic was decided respectively through elections and a referendum. All these were part of the contemporary independence struggle to absolutely end British rule; and the positions as well as actions taken on these issues by the indigenous political forces help us determine who, therefore, founded Ghana as is.

In defining the question in this manner we consciously avoid the rally platform type of rhetoric that pays less respect to the works of authorities in terms of historiographic substance and methodology. That is to say that we avoid the style of Prof. Mike Ocquaye in his presentation 'The Establishment and Deepening of the Democratic Culture and Practice in Ghana' dated August 22, 2013 and published by the Danquah Institute. In this regard we find it quite disappointing that Prof. Ocquaye should carry himself the way he does in that presentation; for, as an academician, Prof. Ocquaye needs to handle the issue at stake with the scholarly decorum that persons of his standing are normally credited with.

II

Preliminary Definitions

In our current enterprise, brief definitions of key concepts are required for our understanding of the issues at stake. In this respect, the concept of "founder" assumes a pride of place. Relying on *The Sage's English Dictionary*,

the verb ‘‘to found’’ is defined as ‘(to) set up or lay the groundwork for’ something which could be a system of ideas or an institution or a body of institutions. From this perspective, that dictionary defines a ‘‘founder’’ as ‘a person who founds or establishes an institution’. It is interesting to note that while the dictionary also defines ‘‘to establish’’ as ‘(to) bring about’ it also repeats its definition of ‘‘to found’’ as indicated above for ‘‘to establish’’; that is, ‘(to) set up or lay the groundwork for’. As synonyms, therefore, both ‘‘to found’’ and ‘‘to establish’’ are defined as ‘to bring about’. Suggestive in all this is the concept of ‘‘initiate’’, and of ‘‘create’’, and of ‘‘originate’’, and of ‘‘organize’’. In fact, highlighting ‘‘founder’’ in the text on the computer and selecting ‘synonym’, one is provided with synonyms like ‘‘creator’’, ‘‘originator’’, ‘‘initiator’’, and ‘‘organizer’’. A founder is thus seen in these terms as a creator, an originator, an initiator, an organizer. As a result, in the discussion here we intend using these synonyms interchangeably with ‘‘founder’’ as English language permits.

We cannot, however, end the definition of a founder without considering their aim and intention. For, different founders might exhibit different aims and intentions in their initiatives. These aims and intentions define the end product. In this respect, we are particularly in reference to limited or narrow aims and intentions as opposed to wide aims and intentions. Certainly, a founder of a tribal movement within an ethnic group who aims at the welfare of that tribe only exhibits narrow intentions as compared with the founder of a rival tribal movement within the same ethnic group who aims at the welfare of the tribe merely as a condition for the welfare of the entire ethnic group. The aim for the latter extends from the narrow confines of the one tribe within the particular ethnic group to the intention of engulfing their entire ethnic group in the said aim. Further details might also suggest that whereas the first group’s narrow aim is restricted to a few within the tribe the second group aims at the welfare of the overwhelming majority therein. Aims and intentions are, therefore, significant in defining a founder: what kind of founder are they? Are they an elitist personality concerned with elite aspirations or a grassroots personality concerned with the aspirations of the overwhelming majority?

In matters of national and international affairs, the dictionary defines ‘‘statesman’’, our next concept, as ‘a man who is a respected leader in national or international affairs’. It goes on to define ‘‘statesmanship’’ as ‘wisdom in the management of public affairs’. In these definitions, there is no necessary suggestion that a statesman is a founder. This does not, however, preclude a founder from being a statesman since a founder is necessarily imbued with wisdom in the management of public affairs. A statesman, we are suggesting by the given definition, is not necessarily an originator or an initiator but certainly one who manages what is already initiated or established; whereas a

founder does not only initiate but also manages. Hence, an acknowledgement of contributions of a statesman does not necessarily make of him a founder. In our discussion here, we are careful not to confound a founder with a statesman since the former is more inclusive and carries a heavier burden. Sitting on the side-lines offering words of wisdom as a leader in academia or political retirement to political movements of one kind or the other might well be statesmanlike but surely not qualify one as a founding member of that movement. Hence, neither Obasanjo nor Gowon is a founder of Nigeria.

The last but one concept requiring our attention in this discussion is the concept of "liberation". The dictionary in reference defines the concept as 'the attempt to achieve equal rights or status'. For sure, this is quite straightforward and presents no special difficulty. We, therefore, move on to the concept of "nationalism" as a step to dealing with the last phenomenon of "national liberation". In this respect, our dictionary defines "nationalism" as 'love of country and willingness to sacrifice for it' as well as 'the aspiration for national independence felt by people under foreign domination.' In these two definitions, we should be quick to distinguish "country" from "nation". Whereas a country is a certain geographically defined space a nation goes beyond restrictions of space. Nationals of a particular country could, therefore, be found in various other countries where they could be citizens bound by laws that might be different from those of their country of origin. Nationalism, thus, connotes love and willingness to sacrifice for one's nation for its independence from foreign domination. Hence, national liberation is understood here as the sacrificial struggle to achieve one's nation's equal status with others from a condition of foreign political, economic, cultural and other domination.

III

Origin of Anti-Colonial Resistance in Ghana

Dr. J. B. Danquah

The colonization of the coastal states which became the Gold Coast Colony years after the signing of the Bond of 1844 was a process that met with resistance from the indigenes late in the second half of the 19th century. In his very interesting paper 'The Historical Significance of the Bond of 1844', published in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* Vol. 3, No. 1(1957) before the independence celebrations on March 6th, 1957, Dr. J. B. Danquah powerfully argues out in a legal analysis that the Bond was not a **treaty** but a **declaration** by the Fanti chiefs surrendering 'certain of their rights and liberties in bondage to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland' (page 6).

He explains that the Bond was a **voluntary** act by the Fanti chiefs to bind themselves and their people to British **judicial** authority and that the Governor in signing it as a **witness** was not bound by its terms as it would have been if it were a **treaty**. He adds that the chiefs did not surrender their entire sovereignty as an independent people; neither did Captain George Maclean, the Governor or President of the Council of Merchants administering at the Cape Coast Castle, also construct the terms of the Bond in that light – being interested mainly in 'the introduction of British ideas of justice to the people' and 'not interested in the acquisition of political power in the Gold Coast' (page 5).

Dr. Danquah's explanation of and comment on the consequences of the Fanti chiefs' action are better quoted than paraphrased thus:

> By the Bond, a free people, who were not subjects of the British sovereign, voluntarily placed themselves under a binding agreement to the British Crown. In thereby **diminishing and abrogating certain** of their ancient rights and liberties, they secured a better maintenance of their society which was growing more complex by reason of its contact with a society based on a differently organised system of values.
>
> The first axiom or self-evident truth is therefore that the Chiefs who signed it placed the exercise of **certain** specified ancient rights and liberties, for instance the right to constitute their own courts, in bondage to the Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. That two minds, unconnected by race, but chiefly by a trade separated by three thousand miles of sea, should so easily have forged such a **juridical link** between them, is a world-shaking event (page 7). *Emphases added*.

At page 10, Dr. Danquah states that 'We get at the core of the unique value of the Bond as a **constitutional document** by looking (at) its recitals, a set of admissions which showed that the Fante Chiefs have, for the purpose of a better system of society, burnt their boat of complete independence and assumed new obligations...'(emphasis added). Thus, for Dr. Danquah, the Fanti Chiefs, ***seeking to build a better system of their society,*** constitutionally gave up **some** of their own ancient rights and liberties to the British in a unilateral declaration or Bond. We should be mindful that he refers to only a **juridical** relation, 'a juridical link', and nothing more.

In fact, according to Dr. Danquah at page 12, before the arrival of Captain George Maclean in 1830 the Fanti had not only made the European settlers and traders pay rent on the lands on which their forts were built but also exercised 'rights of sovereignty over the European settlers' by which they inflicted 'diverse punishments or chastisements upon them' in certain cases

over the previous centuries. 'All this', he says at page 14, 'was to be changed by Maclean in a short space of 14 years...' Dr. Danquah, at page 18, then refers to him, ominously without comment, as 'the man who has been referred to recently by Professor J. D. Fage as **the founder** of the Gold Coast Colony' (emphasis added).

Indeed, Dr. Danquah initially qualifies Prof. Fage's said reference. For, under Maclean only limited sovereignty of a **juridical** nature was seceded to the British; that is to say, control over the land and people (**political power**) had not yet been attained by the British. This was to happen thirty years afterwards in 1874, he argues. In fact, prior to the signing of the Bond of 1844 the British Parliament, as quoted by Dr. Danquah, observed in 1843 how without the application of force the indigenes, including their Chiefs, outside the jurisdiction of the Governor, had voluntarily submitted to 'British Equity' owing to Maclean's and the other Magistrates' fairness in dispensing with justice. To regularize this *de facto* development, that Parliament recommended it 'desirable that this jurisdiction be better defined and understood'. There was no suggestion of a political takeover or control.

Notwithstanding that, Dr. J. B. Danquah credits Governor Maclean with creating the condition out of which the Protectorate or Colony emerged. This falls short of acknowledging Maclean as the **founder** of the said Protectorate or Colony – a political entity that he says Maclean was **not** interested in. Dr. Danquah's forthright statement is made at page 20 in the following terms:

> Out of the irregular, Maclean created regularity and law; out of chaos, he created order. That a British "protectorate" or "colony" eventually arose out of Maclean's achievement may rightly be credited to the condition he fostered and prospered. But a close examination of the Bond of 1844, drafted by him, gives not the slightest indication that he was interested in territorial expansion. His main interest was in the expansion and perpetuation of justice, what we now call British justice. It did not seem to matter to Maclean who was the territorial owner of a territory so long as the light of justice shone wherever the light touch of his hand could reach. This Maclean touch is what made the Bond of 1844 possible, the Bond by which the "Fantee Chiefs" bound themselves to mould the customs of their own country "to the general principles of English law".
>
> To the everlasting credit of the Gold Coast people and their Chiefs let this be said. Without them and their good sense, their own inestimable appreciation of values, Maclean's achievement could not have reached the height of glory it did, and the Bond of 1844 might never have been written or signed.

Thus, Dr. Danquah does not credit Governor Maclean with what he (Maclean) was **not interested in** but which nevertheless emerged out of conditions he

had created. That is, he, unlike Prof. Fage, does not acknowledge Maclean as the 'founder of the Gold Coast Colony' although that Colony might have emerged from conditions that he created. In plain language at page 23, Dr. J. B. Danquah explicitly disagrees with Prof. Fage when he concludes that 'The Bond, as it stands, did not create the Gold Coast a British protectorate or colony. The circumstances that led to that were to develop later.' Such a powerful sense of historical logic, we suggest, must be applauded, acknowledged and **consistently applied** by professional historians and politicians in their scientific apportionment of credit.

It is now only left for us to dilate but very briefly on Dr. Danquah's narrative of the creation of the Colony or Protectorate as an **illegality** which formed the basis of his conception of liberation in the Gold Coast. For him, the whole struggle for liberation revolves around not the abrogation of the Bond of 1844 but the 'unilateral declaration which was described ... as ''a Proclamation emanating from the sole authority of the Queen''.' For him, therefore, it was a legal issue that inspired the liberation struggle in the Gold Coast. This is how he puts it:

> At the first opportunity, thirty years after the Bond, in 1874, as soon as the British felt strong enough to give full expression of their imperial power over the Gold Coast, the Secretary of State, the Earl of Carnarvon, rejected the prudential policy which had inspired his predecessor, Lord Stanley, and the House of Commons in the middle of the century, and decided to impose on the Gold Coast a unilateral declaration which was described by him as ''a Proclamation emanating from the sole authority of the Queen''.
>
> The intent of that Proclamation, and not the Bond of 1844, is the first written indication of the exercise of British imperial jurisdiction in the Gold Coast, and when Gold Coast politicians speak of liberation, it is from the restraints of this document and its successors, culminating in the Orders in Council of 1901, that they speak, not really the Bond of 1844.

Hence, the origin of the resistance to British rule, Dr. Danquah thinks, is located in the lack of caution or prudence on the part of the British of the 1870s and beyond in making a unilateral declaration to impose absolute British rule. The spirit of that view appears to suggest that if, like the Bond of 1844, the people had made such a unilateral declaration to be ruled by the British the resistance movement would not have been provoked.

This understanding certainly created the conditions for a **legalistic** tussle with the British administration and led to increasing admission of the African elite into the colonial legislature. This legalistic tussle also certainly created the

conditions for the essentially non-legal struggles in the streets that eventually won self-government and independence for a redefined Gold Coast.

In Prof. Mike Ocquaye's presentation, Dr. Danquah's systematic analysis and exposition is essentially contradicted. For, according to Prof. Ocquaye, 'In 1821, the British directly assumed control of the Gold Coast (i.e. the Gold Coast Colony))'. This is historically incorrect. In fact, in 1821 there was nothing like 'the Gold Coast Colony'. As Dr. Danquah explains above, 'the Gold Coast Colony' was created only in 1874.

For a detailed understanding of Dr. J. B. Danquah, see his paper on the Bond of 1844, written on January 12th, 1957 and extensively quoted herein, at: http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/41405698?uid=3738072&uid=2474846367&uid=2134&uid=2&uid=70&uid=3&uid=60&sid=21102752050343.

IV

Development of Anti-Colonial Resistance

1. The Fanti Confederation

Dr. J. B. Danquah's legal analysis of the Bond of 1844 and the British Proclamation of 1874 declaring the Gold Coast as a British Colony alerts us on a historical connect between the *de facto* and the *de jure*. Dr. Danquah acknowledges that the Bond was a successful attempt to legalize Captain George Maclean's exercise of unauthorized judicial functions outside areas of British jurisdiction. He explains that Maclean's act was justified on the basis of the confidence that the Chiefs and people living outside British jurisdiction had in his court and were actually submitting themselves voluntarily to its jurisdiction **before** the Bond was signed.

In dealing with the Proclamation, however, he overlooks the *de facto* emergence of a "protectorate" prior to that declaration. The British in the 1870s really spoke of the Gold Coast as living 'under the protection of Great Britain' and believed themselves to be 'the protecting Government'. (See Kimberly's letter to Kennedy, dated London, 16 January, 1872). In fact, he does not speak of a '"protectorate" **and** a "colony"' arising out of the condition that Maclean fostered but rather 'a British "protectorate" **or** "colony"' and thus does not seem to distinguish a "protectorate" from a "colony" – and so mistakenly using the two terms interchangeably.

On the part of the drafters of the Constitution of the Fanti Confederation, the relation with the British was one of submission of the Fanti to the approval of the British administration. In a covering letter attached to a copy of the

Constitution submitted to the Colonial Administrator and 'for the information of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies', the Fanti Chiefs wrote in respect of the Constitution that 'Our sole object is to improve the condition of our peoples, **not to interfere with**, but to **aid our benefactors** on the sea coast, and we count upon your Excellency giving us at times that **assistance** which may be necessary to carry out our humble efforts' (emphases added).

In more explicit terms, Article 37 of the Constitution made a decision of 'the Ministry and Executive Council' subject to appeal to the British Courts. It states 'That it be the duty of the Ministry and Executive Council ... (b) To hear, try and determine all important appeal cases brought before it by the under-secretary, option being allowed to any party or parties dissatisfied with the decision thereof to appeal to the British Courts.' Prior to this, Article 33 makes the Executive Council 'the final court of appeal of the Confederation' to hear 'important appeal cases'. Thus, the combined effect of the covering letter and these Articles was the subordination of the Confederation to British authority.

It is instructive to notice that the Constitution did not consider the British as an enemy. In fact, it rather states its object, in part, at Article 8 (i) 'To promote friendly intercourse between all the kings and chiefs of Fanti, and to unite them for offensive and defensive purposes against their common enemy', and, as already quoted from the covering letter, counts on the British 'giving us at times that assistance which may be necessary to carry out our humble efforts.' These voluntary acts of subservience to the British authority created the condition not only for Fanti collaboration with the British against the Asante during the Sagrenti War of 1874 but also the British Proclamation of the Gold Coast as a Colony – thus, transforming the *de facto* protectorate into a complete colony.

In arriving at this stage, the Colonial administration at Cape Coast used a combination of threats and wooing of the Kings and Chiefs 'in order to break up the Confederation', according to Lennart Limberg in his article 'The Economy of the Fante Confederation', published by the Historical Society of Ghana in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 11 (1970), page 102. Limberg says at length that

> On his return to the Coast in March, 1872, Ussher (the Administrator) did not hesitate to adopt a hard attitude towards the Confederation; and especially its levying of taxes was pointed to as illegal.
>
> But the administration at Cape Coast not only threatened, but also wooed in order to break up the Confederation. In letters published in *The African Times*, Salmon (the Acting Administrator) is accused of bribing the kings and chiefs. On his return Ussher informed the Chiefs of Cape Coast, and some of the interior Kings of the intention of Her

> Majesty's Government to subsidize them according to their rank, and loyalty to the Crown.
>
> These two sides of the British policy towards the Confederation, declaring the taxes illegal or impossible to levy, and bribing the kings and chiefs, obviously influenced its leaders. This is shown in a new scheme for the Fanti Confederation, drafted in April 1872, and presented to the new Governor, Pope-Hennessy during his stay on the coast. In the new scheme a budget was also included and this contained a big item for "Stipends to kings and chiefs." The most striking change in the constitution is, however, that now the Confederation was to levy no taxes whatsoever. Instead it was proposed that half of the £20,000 needed yearly should be furnished from the colonial chest at Cape Coast. The rest was to come from "court fees, fines, &c."

Limberg adds on the same page that 'In the scheme of April 1872, the leaders of the Confederation asked Her Majesty's Government for £7,200 to pay expenses for their first attempt, "since the Government was opposed to imposing any taxes or duties". At the Colonial Office this was considered "a cool request", and the money was of course never paid.' At a point, according to Limberg, 'the initiative rested with the British authorities' and it remained there 'until all hope was gone and the Fante Confederation was finally dead'. The Constitution's plan, constructed on the wake of criticism of 'the educated men in leading positions' of the Confederation for their previous handling of the finances, never materialized.

It is clear from all this that the so-called nationalism of the Fanti Confederation was a self-serving and parochial tribal machine with the object of fighting in collaboration with their self-imposed British juridical overlords-cum-allies against the aggressive Asante and their Dutch allies. It had no conception of achieving a true self-government, its projections being in anticipation of assistance from the British to whom they were steadily relinquishing 'their ancient rights and liberties', as Dr. Danquah puts it. Those self-seeking Kings and Chiefs and a corrupt class of educated men had no intention whatsoever to unite the various tribal and ethnic groups for the crystallization of the kind of state we now have in Ghana, though painfully neo-colonial.

And this is not to talk about any effort on their part to liberate themselves from their self-imposed juridical British colonial master; for, the *raison d'être* was this yet absent. Certainly, they cannot be credited with a hand in founding Ghana as is. The **intention and interest** were never there. On this score, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's politically correct and titillating assertion in his *Ghana: Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, at page 186 regarding 'the forming of the Fanti Confederation in an effort to oppose British imperialism' can only be considered not to be grounded well in the facts of history. The Confederation

did no such thing. Prof. Ocquaye is similarly mistaken in stating that 'The Bond of 1844 made the nationalist struggle in Ghana a different proposition' since there was no such struggle yet.

The truth of history stands independently of and despite political correctness. A brief account of Fanti-British-Dutch-Asante relations is given at the blog Ghana, A Living History. An even more critical evaluation of the Confederation and its so-called nationalism is made by Trevor R. Getz.

2. The Aborigines Rights Protection Society

If the period of the *de facto* protectorate ended with the 1874 Proclamation that created the Gold Coast Colony and that that period was characterized by Fanti kings' and chiefs' collaboration with the British, the situation was seriously different from the aftermath of that Proclamation. Resistance to colonial rule finds its genesis in the latter period when imperialism became more aggressive in its acquisition drives and the mass of the people were introduced into the struggle against British rule for the first time in the Colony. The method of handling African-British relations saw its first signs of radicalization though that did not lead to the abandonment of what LaRay Denzer, in his article 'Aborigines Rights Protection Society: Building the Foundation of Modern Ghana', calls the 'conservative and constitutional approach to protest'. Radicalization introduced a dialectic with street action and table negotiation dimensions. The extent of consistent employment of these dimensions jointly and severally in the liberation struggle was to determine the fate of both British and indigenous political forces.

Before the emergence of the ARPS in 1897/8 and upon the colonial government's submission of its first Land Bills in 1894, Denzer tells us, the knowledge of the government's plans sparked off 'organized petitions, public demonstrations, mass meetings, and a powerful press campaign, masterminded by Reverend Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma (formerly Samuel Solomon) (1875-1921), who made no apology for turning his newspaper, the Gold Coast Methodist Times, from a religious organ into an engine of political protest.' Upon its emergence, the ARPS, according to LaRay Denzer, in his article 'Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford: Architect of Inter-War West African Unity', 'organized a series of public demonstrations against (the Land Bill of 1897)' and claimed victory after its 'deputation of three wealthy merchants' succeeded in extracting from the Secretary of State for the Colonies an assurance that 'native law shall remain and prevail with regard to the devolution of land'. The dialectic was well applied at this early stage of its activities.

It is instructive to observe that the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) – having, in the words of LaRay Denzer, 'emerged from a protracted protest carried out by the Fante chiefs and people against a sustained attempt by the colonial government to pass legislation restricting their rights of land ownership and usage as well as assuming control of mineral and forest rights' and having applied the new dimension of struggle introduced by the chiefs and people in the streets while combining it with the other dimension of sending a delegation – succeeded in their pressure on the British. But in this final decade of the nineteenth century colonial rule was being aggressively established in West Africa. 'Mindful of the prevailing political climate of oppression and retaliation, indigenous chiefs and their educated subjects in the colonies evolved strategy and tactics that emphasized a conservative and constitutional approach to protest, always stressing their loyalty as British subjects.' The ARPS religiously stuck to this approach till it became irrelevant and passed off.

The reaction of the chiefs, the educated persons and the people against the British was **spontaneous** and it was out of this **spontaneity** that the organized force of the ARPS emerged in later years. For as long, therefore, as the ARPS connected its activities with the people's resistance it remained useful, *gbeyecious* and, therefore, relevant. Once a disconnect was occasioned by its restriction to the 'conservative and constitutional approach' side of the evolved method in its dialectic it was poised on a downward slide and increasingly became irrelevant as a political force even in the eyes of the British who then disregarded it. Dr. S. K. B. Asante puts it all in this way:

> The elite's penetration of the mass elements of the Gold Coast was still limited at this time. The educated intellectuals such as Danquah and Sekyi showed little awareness of the problems and needs of the rural areas. A gulf therefore emerged between them and the mass elements.' (p. 42) '[T]he Aborigines were comparatively moderate in their attacks on colonial domination' [and exhibited] 'the slow and compromising tactics of the middle-class nationalist intellectuals of the old school' (p. 45). [When they appeared at the 5th Pan-African Congress in the person of G. Ashie-Nikoi as their representative, their instructions to him] 'did not anywhere mention the interests of the masses. They were an interesting reflection of the wishes of the Gold Coast middle-class nationalists (p.42).

This ideological gulf reflected in the emphasis placed on the 'conservative and constitutional approach' dimension of the new dialectic, we reiterate.

As it turned out, in the words of LaRay Denzer, its early success 'proved to be the high water mark in its activities as a political interest group' since it thereafter concentrated on masses-free approaches. That explains why the land issue eclipses other dimensions of its activities; and, in its final years, not

surprisingly, it was principally concerned with its growing irrelevance – for which reason it sought the ears of the British to be recognized, in Dr. Asante's phraseology, as the 'medium between government and people' through other platforms like the 5th Pan-African Congress.

***

Unlike the Fanti Confederation (and although ARPS emerged from the protest of Fanti chiefs and people), the ARPS had a broad horizon spanning across the African continent and beyond. It went beyond tribal concerns. Dr. S. K. B. Asante, in his article 'The Neglected Aspects of the Activities of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society', published in the Phylon (1960-), Vol. 36, No. 1 (1st Qtr. 1975), p. 32, is particularly anxious to call our attention to the fact that 'Almost throughout the period of its existence, pan-African consciousness was very much evident in the thought and activities of the Aborigines Society.' For the benefit of those who connect the ARPS with land issues only, he explains that 'The leaders of the Society were keenly aware of their membership in the Negro race and were desirous to maintain the integrity and to assert the equality of that race. They identified themselves with the problems affecting the African continent as a whole and developed a sense of affinity with national movements of other parts of the world.'

It is of grave importance that as early as July 1900, just three or two years after the formation of the ARPS, its organ *The Gold Coast Aborigines* took interest in the first Pan-African Conference of that date organized on the initiative of Henry Sylvester Williams. Quoting from its August 31 1900 issue, Dr. Asante has that organ predicting thus:

> We predict that Africa will always remain what it has always been – the black man's continent. There may be fringes of population of whites here and there, but the main bulk of the people will be black. We talk of Boer and Briton in South Africa, as if that were a statement of the whole matter. What if, at some distant date in the future, South Africa should belong to neither Boer nor Briton, but to the Negro – his by right, by superior numbers, and superior power? We may smile at the idea, but it may easily become a tremendous reality.

He notes, however, that it was in the 1930s that the ARPS devoted more attention to and became involved in the 'anti-imperialist and pan-African associations abroad' (p.34). It 'had then been discredited by the local colonial government as a force in Gold Coast politics', he adds therein. Its contacts with personalities of Pan-Africanism were stimulated by its agitations against certain laws.

On the platform of the 5th Pan-African Congress in 1945, at a time when the Aborigines 'were very much on the decline, and were gradually passing out

of the political arena in the Gold Coast' (p. 44), they stated that they 'had come to "ask this Congress to see that West Africa gets its political emancipation. It is our right and we must have it ... We do not want freedom that is partially controlled – we want nothing but freedom.' (p. 43). They had their lights on West Africa, not a tribal enclave. No wonder then that 'Most of the constitutional and economic points listed in the Aborigines' instructions to Ashie-Nikoi were included in the Congress' resolutions on West Africa.' (p. 43).

Our anxiety here has been to briefly call attention to the broad political horizon and methods of struggle that the ARPS adopted in contrast with the collaborationist stance of the Fanti Confederation. The Aborigines Rights Protection Society, unlike the Confederation, had the British but not other Africans as its target of combat. Against the British it initially applied the historically evolved dialectic in the method of struggle although to its own chagrin it de-emphasized and jettisoned an aspect of that dialectic. It can certainly and should certainly be credited with the accolade of a 'nationalist movement' that created conditions for the development of anti-colonial resistance. We are left in no doubt that it was truly the **first** but bourgeois-oriented nationalist movement in the then Gold Coast.

However, as Dr. Danquah has explained, creating conditions is not enough; interest, and, therefore, intention, with a precise content is decisive. ARPS's rejection of radical opposition to British domination did not only render it irrelevant. The organization died a natural death.

3. National Congress of British West Africa

J. E. Casely Hayford

Dr. S. K. B. Asante, at page 42 of his article referred to, does not only say that Aborigines' interests reflected the wishes of Gold Coast middle-class nationalists. He indeed adds that the instructions sent to Ashie-Nikoi 'were almost identical to the legal, political and economic demands of the National Congress of British West Africa of the 1920s.' Fact is that in his article 'The National Congress of British West Africa: Regional Mobilization and an Emergent Pan-African Consciousness', Michael G. Hanchard corroborates this outlook of the Congress as an elitist organization of the middle-class nationalists. He states that 'the purpose of the congress was ultimately conservative, in the sense that it was elite-driven and concerned with maintaining good relations with Britain'.

The livewire of the Congress was J. E. Casely Hayford about whose 'heroic qualities' LaRay Denzer says that 'biographical writing has continued to

emphasize' and credited him 'as one of the founding fathers of the Ghanaian nation.' Certainly, Denzer does not himself so credit him; neither does he contest it. He does not commit himself either here or there. He surely appears to be in a dilemma. For, Casely Hayford was for between fourteen and fifteen years (1916-1930), that is, until his death, a member of the Legislative Council as leading unofficial member serving the British while contesting them 'for structural reforms and greater autonomy'. Certainly, the 'British authorities sought to frustrate the congress at every turn' since the Congress' 'existence also threatened British rule'.

Since, according to Hanchard, the death of Casely Hayford in 1930 'effectively brought an end to the congress, even though its political effectiveness had long been undermined by its ideology and internal dissension', he was not only the Congress' livewire but also its history personified. The references to the ideological orientation of the Congress were all references to its founder's orientation. Within the context of Gold Coast politics, Casely Hayford's Congress was opposed not only by the British but also the traditional rulers among whom Nana Ofori Atta of Akim Abuakwa has been cited for special mention. His reconciliation with the latter rulers was only on the eve of his death in 1929. The 'traditional chiefs ... saw the prospects of their own future power and influence diminished by a Congress led by a Western educated but nonetheless Ghanaian elite', Hanchard adds.

The significance of the chiefs' resistance to the Congress is not to be seen just in the fact that 'the Ashanti chieftaincy, most notably Ofori Atta, and the British officials often collaborated' but seriously in the fact that these latter 'collaborated to undermine the effectiveness of the Congress' attempts at broadening its **popular and organizational base** by arguing that the organization's efforts were attempting to erode traditional values and institutions of indigenous life' (emphasis added). Thus, at play in domestic politics was the feudal factor as a destabilizer in its incorrect handling by the Congress. In fact, the account suggests that the Congress in the person of Casely Hayford gave in to the feudal forces and they 'cooperated in the pursuit of political reform and social justice.' Hence, if the ARPS neglected the other aspect of the organizational dialectic the NCBWA on its part made but unsuccessful attempts at it. It remained in part, organizationally and essentially, like the Aborigines.

But, as stated, in part, only in part. Whereas the ARPS hopped from one Pan-African platform to the other internationally contributing to speeches without organically constituting itself as part of an on-going organization that embraces and goes beyond the boundaries of the then Gold Coast, the Congress incorporated the four British colonies of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and The Gambia in its organizational structure and operations.

According to Denzer, Casely Hayford, and, therefore, the Congress, 'was an even more forceful proponent of the idea of West African unity. Whereas Edward Blyden's ideas remained ethereal and undefined, Casely Hayford articulated a clear-cut program of regional unification.' Not just that: Casely Hayford and some of his colleagues did not only initiate discussion to form a united British West African front but also fabricated their organizational ideology and tactics from various sources like the National Congress of India.

Denzer tells us that Casely Hayford was familiar with the organizational ideas of Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois. But what was of organizational value and strategic concern for him was that – and he 'made it clear that he differed from African American thinking on this issue' – West Africans familiar with local politics and the environment but not African Americans must have the initiative for African development and change. In this respect, according to Denzer, 'He was more African-oriented culturally, more universal in his treatment of race questions ... (and) (d)riving home this point, he argued that African Americans, as a result of their wholesale assimilation into American culture, were disqualified from assuming the role of political mentors to Africans'. Denzer adds, however, that he later became 'more tolerant of outside agency' although he insisted that 'potential immigrants, if allowed to settle in Africa, must accept local jurisdiction'.

From these positions it is clear that although the National Congress of British West Africa could not survive for more than a decade and in spite of its middle-class orientation, it consciously sought to go beyond its elitist confines to broaden its organizational base. Its frustrations, due to the malignant collaboration of local chiefs with British officials, notwithstanding, it was able to constitute a **non-racist** threat to imperialism and influence the subsequent adoption of some of its positions on issues. Again, LaRay Denzer tells us that 'Although the colonial government tried to downplay the influence of the new organization, there is no doubt that subsequent political and educational reforms took the shape originally promulgated by the NCBWA.' In addition to these organizational and policy initiatives, the NCBWA's brand of practical Pan-African organizational drive, in spite of its limitation of concentrating on British West African territories, established what was to become an inspiration for total liberation of the African wherever they might be.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is to acknowledge later in his *Autobiography* (p. 21) that it was the NCBWA secretary, Mr. S.R. Wood, who 'introduced me to politics' although it was through Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey 'that my nationalism was first aroused' (p. 14). The effect of this introduction was soon to prove telling on the Gold Coast and Africa as a whole in terms of not just broadening the organizational base of the anti-colonial resistance in practice but also its radicalization to effect – way beyond what the NCBWA leadership could ever

imagine or even be interested in and intend. Surely then, the NCBWA created further conditions for the anti-colonial resistance but failed Dr. J. B. Danquah's test and, therefore, cannot be credited with founding Ghana as is: an independent sovereign unitary republican state without the British Queen as Head of State.

4. United Gold Coast Convention

This far, we have observed a process of the development of the method of anti-colonial resistance and its application which has its antecedents in the pre-colonial period – that method being characterized by elements of **spontaneity** and **conscious organization** in their co-ordinated expression.

Spontaneous resistance involves reaction from the grassroots of society and is characterized by general lack of co-ordination in action execution. It stems from the perception of a common threat. The element of conscious organization emerges out of that "chaotic" situation to address it in a focused manner for maximum effect. The history of African societies exhibits this dialectic of resistance. It was applied prior to the colonial period as a tradition in war strategy. Once ignored, defeat was certain.

The common threat from a neighbour aroused the indignation of society as a whole and the need for action was impressed on the existing leadership which then mobilized the society to confront the perceived threat. Only then would that leadership determine the trend that the struggle assumed. This tradition in resistance and war strategy developed in content over the course of historical time. Its essence lay in **mass participation** the absence of which occasioned certain defeat.

We have indicated above how, by a process of alienation of the chiefs and educated class from each other and the elite classes from the mass of the people, the British broke the front of the chiefs and their subjects as a prelude to the unilateral 1874 Proclamation which inaugurated the Gold Coast Colony. We have also outlined how the observance of the organizational dialectic chalked victory for the Aborigines in their struggle against the Land Bills on their assumption as the spearhead of mass action. In this latter respect, we took note of their defeat once the mass element was jettisoned.

It is clear that the rise of the educated class in its progressive march to assume the leadership of society in replacement of the chiefs was accompanied by a general change in the method of resistance. Rather than perfect the traditional or evolved method of struggle that combined mass spontaneity with conscious organization the educated class generally zeroed in on a truncated version of it. Dominated by lawyers, it stressed on legal approaches to the virtual neglect of the mass line. If the ARPS abandoned the mass line after its initial

success, the NCBWA was frustrated in its application. The UGCC came in not only to inherit the ARPS's ineffectual method – line, hook and sinker. It died out.

***

Dr. Kwame Okoampa-Ahoofe, Jr., in Part 5 of his article series 'The Enduring Legacy of Dr. J. B. Danquah' (April 7, 2005), is anxious to erase the perception of the UGCC as an elitist outfit. Connecting the activities of the Gold Coast Youth Conference founded by Dr. Danquah with those of the UGCC, he nevertheless observes that 'indeed, as available documents regarding the seminal activities of the Gold Coast Youth Conference attest, the latter appears to have squarely aimed at the salutary expansion and development of the Gold Coast community of **African intelligentsia**, in anticipation of the inevitable re-assertion of the country's sovereignty in the offing' (emphasis added).

The rest of the article then illustrates how policies outlined by the Conference showed 'the imperative need to creating an economic milieu and climate conducive to individual wealth accumulation, in order to facilitate the auspicious development of a capitalist economy' and that such policies 'were well in advance of Nkrumah's arrival and involvement in Gold Coast politics in mid-1947'. In spite of this imperative need to create conditions for capitalist development, Dr. Okoampa-Ahoofe quotes Dr. Danquah from the latter's Review of the Conference's activities up to 1943 as stating that an abolition of the country's colonial status at that time would leave it unprepared due to lack of personnel.

It was not as if Dr. Danquah was 'less eager in his struggle for Ghana's sovereignty', according to Dr. Okoampa-Ahoofe, for, the former states in the Review that 'Whatever we do in an expansionist world, we must accept the principle that no control by another is ever as good as self-control'. He explains that 'Dr. Danquah's concern in reality was the fact that up to 1943, when he published his review of the activities of the Gold Coast Youth Conference, the British colonial administration **had not initiated any serious measures aimed at transforming the multinational Ghanaian polity into an organic or unified modern state** capable of effectively undertaking diplomatic activities with the larger international community' (emphasis added). He quotes Dr. Danquah in these terms:

> Actually what I imagine would happen if Colonial status were abolished is something like this: Each ex-colony would feel **constrained** to choose its representative-country in world affairs, the new autonomous ex-colonial countries would be singularly **unprepared** to meet any of the great nations on anything like equal

> terms – (To start with, they would have no diplomatic corps, and that sort of thing!). What more natural than that we in the Gold Coast should choose Britain, many of whose traditions and institutions have long influenced our own ideals and development...
>
> 'But the important fact is that we shall be choosing England as "free agents" and shall be in a position to discuss or dictate the terms of indenture or Treaty between the two countries in a way that a Gold Coast man can walk the Gold Coast soil and earth and feel that he is walking on air. What I am not prepared to accept is any suggestion that we are congenitally or otherwise incapable of bearing independence if thrust upon us. I am unable to admit that either the Liberians or Egyptians in Africa, or the Australians or New Zealanders in the Pacific have some qualities which we in the Gold Coast haven't got' (emphases added).

Dr. Okoampa-Ahoofe finds this observation to be 'admittedly quite curious and unpalatable'. All the same he explains that 'while Danquah fundamentally believed in the equally inalienable humanity of the Ghanaian and African as a citizen, the reality of many an African colony not having been adequately prepared for the highly sophisticated culture of modern politics, presented a formidable challenge that could not be seriously ignored by the astute and clairvoyant statesman'. Specifically in respect of Ghana he states that 'Indeed, anybody who studiously followed the painful manner in which President Nkrumah pathetically bungled the administrative apparatus which he inherited from the British colonial administration, cannot but unreservedly admire Danquah's courage and honesty in acknowledging the embarrassing fact that even on the eve of Ghana's independence, 14 years after his momentous review of the activities of the Gold Coast Youth Conference, **Ghana had still not been adequately prepared for the complex culture of a modern nation-state** (emphasis added).'

Despite this he is critical of Dr. Danquah's position thus: 'It was, however, rather unfortunate for the Doyen to have anticipated that British imperialism would take upon itself the noble and altruistic mission of elevating Ghana to the enviable status of a diplomatic coequal. Consequently, Danquah was understandably caught off-guard when he was confronted with the practical realities of independence'. In fact, it was not just that Dr. Danquah had such an anticipation of British imperialism in 1943. He carried it through the formation of the UGCC in 1947 and its demise in 1951 to the eve of Independence Day in 1957. Dr. Okoampa-Ahoofe's critique resonates, quite obliquely, with Dr. Nkrumah's position in his 1945 book *Towards Colonial Freedom* to the effect that

> The idea that Britain, France or any other colonial power is holding colonies under "trusteeship" until in their opinion, the colonies

> become "capable" of self-government is erroneous and misconceived. Colonial powers cannot afford to expropriate themselves. And then to imagine that these colonial powers will hand freedom and independence to their colonies on a silver platter **without compulsion** is the height of folly (emphasis added).

But Dr. Danquah's stated position was shared by other leaders of the UGCC. For, when all that was required for the achievement of independence was a formal motion in Parliament calling for independence after the 1956 elections in accordance with the British plan, Dr. K.A. Busia, the Leader of the United Party (UP) (the metamorphosed UGCC), bugged down by *gbeshie*, led a delegation to Britain appealing to the British Government not to grant independence because the country was not ready for Parliamentary democracy and pleaded with the British in these words: 'We still need you in the Gold Coast. Your experiment there is not yet complete. Sometimes I wonder why you seem in such a hurry to wash your hands off us'. (*Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 279.)

***

Dennis Austin, in his article 'The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention', *Journal of African History*, II, 2 (1961), p. 273, characterizes the period 1947 – 1951, that is the period when the UGCC emerged and died, as 'these interesting years when the colonial administration was beginning to retreat and the nationalists to advance'. He adds that 'This was the period when few of the leaders knew precisely what they wanted, but the mass of the people were becoming clear about what they disliked.' In that article, he examines the Minute Book of the Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention about which he says 'Dr. Danquah very kindly allowed me to read and make notes on' in 1960.

He describes the UGCC of August 1947 as the first of post-war political organizations and a confluence of earlier associations which represented 'tributaries of discontent which fed the torrent of nationalist agitation after 1945'. From other accounts it is clear that the Gold Coast Youth Conference, like the Gold Coast Youth League and Gold Coast Youth Association among others, had to become part if not the core of the UGCC. Dr. Danquah, who was its General Secretary, also became a Vice-President of the UGCC. But, according to Dr. Okoampa-Ahoofe's article though 'Dr. Danquah was indubitably ... more perspicuous', he was 'rather too staid for the highly charged political pulse of the times'. In other words, by the definition of the word "staid" by the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners, International Student Edition*, Dr. Danquah was 'serious and rather boring'.

Under such an uninspiring leadership the UGCC was not only ineffectual but also had that leadership divorced from the masses of the people. It was in this state when Dr. Ako Adjei, one of its leaders, suggested to the others to invite Dr. Kwame Nkrumah whose organizational activities in the US and Britain he was aware of as they had worked together in the US. Consequently, Dr. Danquah had to write in invitation to him to assume the position of General Secretary. Before this latter invitation, that is after Ako Adjei's letter, Dr. Nkrumah had been briefed by one Tony Maclean who had been to the Gold Coast and personally knew the 'promoters of the U.G.C.C.' On the basis of that briefing Dr. Nkrumah says that

> I concluded that the sponsors of the movement were men whose political philosophy was contrary to the political aspirations of the people of the Gold Coast ... This assessment of the situation forced me to the conclusion that it was useless to associate myself with a movement backed almost entirely by reactionaries, middle-class lawyers and merchants, for my revolutionary background and ideas would make it impossible for me to work with them. (*Autobiography*, p.62)

In passing, it is worthy of note that in the immediate quotation Dr. Nkrumah refers to the UGCC as 'a movement' but not as 'a party'. These are not the same thing. Whereas 'a party' denotes the organization of a people **as a class** 'a movement' denotes the organization of a people as **a group of various classes**. The distinction is vital to our understanding of the dynamics of nationalist struggle in the late 1940s. For, whereas there is a general consistency in Dr. Nkrumah's references to the UGCC as 'a movement' and the Convention People's Party (CPP) as 'a party' there are moments in his *Autobiography* when he also loosely refers to the UGCC as 'party' and the CPP as 'the new party'. At page 69 of that book, however, he strikes the historic difference in the following terms:

> The intelligentsia, having been successful in creating opposition to the Burns Constitution, now began to plan the launching of **a political movement** which could upset it. The idea of **a political party** as such never occurred to them and the party system was alien to them. In fact one of my numerous so-called crimes, according to my political opponents, is that I have introduced the party system into the country ... Because the UGCC at the beginning lacked the support of the masses and some chiefs, it is not difficult to see why it failed to make an impression. It was in an effort to make it appear **a popular movement** that I was invited to become its general secretary (emphases added).

When, therefore, Dr. Nkrumah, after 'much serious discussion' at a meeting of the West African National Secretariat to deliberate on Dr. Danquah's

subsequent invitation, decided to accept the invitation, according to him, 'I was very sure of the policy that I would pursue and fully prepared to come to loggerheads with the Executive of the U.G.C.C. if I found they were following a reactionary course.' In his consideration, arising out of his study of the Minute Book of the Working Committee of the UGCC, David Austin concludes that 'in its beginning lay its end: the two chief protagonists in 1947 were Dr. J. B. Danquah and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah'.

The former was focused on a policy of individual wealth accumulation in anticipation of the development of a capitalist economy and sought to create a movement led by the capitalist-oriented intelligentsia. The latter came with a ready policy of Marxist socialism as pronounced at the 5th Pan-African Congress and sought to create a working people's party. The UGCC 'would never be the same'. For, the ideological and organizational differences, which should never be toyed with in political struggles, were so much at cross purposes that the contradiction was bound to explode within the UGCC not only to lead to its implosion but more significantly to the emergence of a CPP antithesis.

Just after the 1945 Congress Dr. Nkrumah had formed a secret vanguard organization, The Circle, which was at the centre of the West African National Secretariat's acts. The duties of The Circle were:

> Each circle member should join an organization and should adopt two methods of approach:
>
> (a) Advocate and work for the demands of that Organization.
> (b) Infuse that Organization with the spirit of national unity and the national independence of West Africa, and the creation of the Union of African Socialist Republics.
>
> The Circle further set out its goal in the following terms:
>
> At such a time as may be deemed advisable THE CIRCLE will come out openly as a political party embracing the whole of West Africa, whose policy then shall be to maintain the Union of African Socialist Republics. (See Appendix B of *Autobiography*)

For Dr. Nkrumah and the members of the West African National Secretariat the Danquah invitation 'was rather like the dawn of action at the end of a long and intensive training.' (p. 70) Without funds to help initiate the formation of a party the tactic of operating in an existing organization to influence it in a particular direction and emerge as an independent political party was The Circle's essential stance. The UGCC provided such an opportunity. Hence, Dr. Nkrumah's very first organizational proposal to the UGCC's Working Committee was the inclusion of the Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and others as 'affiliates' to the UGCC. That was a critical move to transform the

membership content. And even more critical was the identification of this mass content with The Circle in his person.

It is extremely important to notice that just a month after Dr. Nkrumah had received the go-ahead with his organizational proposals and during the search for him and the other leaders of the UGCC after the 1948 riots he spent the time of hiding in a house where he says that with his small typewriter 'the plans were laid that were later embodied in the programme of the Convention People's Party.' See page 78 of his book. Whatever interpretation is placed on this revelation it is clear that Dr. Nkrumah was religiously following the programme of The Circle for the ultimate emergence of an independent mass political party. He had been smart to read the draft constitution and the Minute Book of the UGCC.

What he saw was an organization with 'a couple of' inactive branches '**intended'** to be concerned 'with the Colony proper and, to a less degree, with Ashanti' while 'The Northern Territories and Trans-Volta/Togoland did not feature in their programme at all.' See pages 72 and 73. In this regard, he did not only strongly feel the need for a united movement embracing the whole country but actually 'saw at once the urgent need for a country-wide tour with the object of setting up branches of the U.G.C.C. in every part of the country (p. 73).' He continues to say that 'The results of this were most successful, for within six months I had established 500 branches in the Colony alone.'

In these **initiatives**, which come so naturally with a committed Marxist socialist thinker and activist, Dr. Nkrumah defined the terrain and method of struggle – the whole country as the terrain and working people's participation as the essential organizational strategy. Although the organizational proposals that he presented to the Working Committee were accepted without comment Dr. Nkrumah writes that 'They probably felt that although I could not hope to succeed, there was no harm in trying.' In fact, they later, in front of the Watson Commission, dissociated themselves from those proposals. But the report of the Watson Commission that investigated the 1948 riots tells the story in part thus:

> From the internal evidence of the Minute Book of the Working Committee, the Convention did not really get down to business until the arrival of Mr. Kwame Nkrumah on 16th December, 1947, and his assumption of the post as Secretary.
>
> Mr. Nkrumah has had a varied career. He had a very diversified education in the United States and Great Britain and in both countries appears to have taken a prominent part in all political institutions designed to promote a forward African policy. Although somewhat modest in his admissions, he appears while in Britain to have had

> Communist affiliations and to have become imbued with a Communist ideology which only political expedience has blurred. In London he was identified particularly with the West African National Secretariat, a body which had for its objects the union of all West African Colonies and which still exists. It appears to be the precursor of a Union of West African Soviet Socialist Republics...
>
> In a working programme circulated just before the disturbances we have been inquiring into, Mr Nkrumah boldly proposes a programme which is all too familiar to those who have studied the technique of countries which have fallen the victims of Communist enslavement. We cannot accept the naive statement of the members of the Working Committee, that although this had been circulated, they did not read it. We are willing to believe that they did. On the other hand we feel that the Working Committee, fired by Mr Nkrumah's enthusiasm and drive, were eager to seize political power and for the time being were indifferent to the means adopted to attain it. (See pp. 85-86 of the *Autobiography*)

The Circle Document of 1945, in terms of its Marxist orientation, had been preceded by Dr. Nkrumah's own doctoral dissertation of 1944 that applied Marxist dialectics in its analysis of society. Dr. Nkrumah and other members of The Circle [which was restricted 'to persons who are trained and engaged in political revolution as a profession', according to the Document] had set as their aim to '(1) maintain ourselves and the Circle as the Revolutionary Vanguard of the struggle for West African Unity and National Independence and (2) support the idea and claims of the All West African National Congress in its struggle to create and maintain a Union of African Socialist Republics.' There was no mention of 'Soviet' there. Dr. Danquah and the other middle-class lawyers and merchants had set out, in the words of Dr. Okoampa-Ahoofe, a relative of Dr. Danquah, to pursue 'the imperative need to creating an economic milieu and climate conducive to individual wealth accumulation, in order to facilitate the auspicious development of a capitalist economy'. The one represented Marxist socialism while the other represented capitalism – a situation of kerosene and water in the same container.

In the light of The Circle's projections for itself it would be absurd to conjecture that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah would lend himself to be used as an instrument by persons he regarded as 'reactionary'. He seized the opportunity to operate in an organization in accordance with the directions of The Circle Document to pursue specific agenda. In this respect, when the UGCC leadership reneged on paying him the promised £100 as his salary and tried to negotiate with him to rather accept £25 he 'proposed that (he) would work for nothing so long as they would take care of (his) board and lodging expenses'. In his own words, 'The whole roomful of them turned to look at me in astonishment. As each one was making an income of around two to three

thousand a year, they must have thought I was either a pretty queer character or that in a shrewd way I was trying on something too clever for them to see.' See *Autobiography*, p. 70. They were yet to learn that making money was not his concern. His concern lay with organization of the working people to construct an independent political party.

The UGCC had no intention of mobilizing all the then four regions of the country until after Dr. Nkrumah's arrival, proposals and activities. The UGCC concentrated on the Colony proper. Its claims to having established some thirteen branches were not substantiated as in reality only a couple of inactive branches were found. Rather than use Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, a professional revolutionary, for its purposes, the latter used it to achieve the immediate objective of The Circle – formation of a political party out of the UGCC movement. That was a mass political party, a requisite for the independence struggle. The 1894-initiated new method of struggle against foreign rule received in the hands of Dr. Nkrumah the highest form of its definition at the end of the first half of the 20th century. Certainly, then, no other member in the UGCC could be credited with what they did not initiate or intended. All other evidence, apart from those cited here, attest to this in no uncertain terms.

Into mass spontaneity Dr. Nkrumah breathed the spirit of conscious mass organization to transform the UGCC into a mass movement in pursuit of the creation of an independent sovereign republican state as a first step towards a West African State; but he did this in such a way that the mass of the people who were attracted to the movement rallied around his person and, therefore, The Circle, a secret vanguard revolutionary organization operating similarly within the West African National Secretariat. Once he left the UGCC the latter lost its newly founded mass base and returned to its elitist status of old, leading to its demise in 1951 when Dr. J.B. Danquah was its only candidate to win the general elections of that year. Dr. Danquah never won any subsequent elections thereafter.

5. Convention People's Party

In the hands of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah the dialectic method of struggle in resistance against the colonial administration had been perfected for the period. That method, bifurcated as legal and mass street action, was first seen applied in 1894 in the spontaneous rise of the people, the chiefs and educated elite against the Land Bills that threatened to take the land from the people of the Colony. This perfecting in the application of the method of struggle did not abandon either aspect of the dialectic but rather utilized both with mass action as the dominant aspect. It did not also emerge from an empty mind resting on a pot-belly. It was located in a conscious study. In his dissertation *Kwame Nkrumah: A Study in Intercultural Leadership*, Dr. Samuel E. Taylor

quotes Dr. Nkrumah from pages 38-39 of John Considine's 1954 book *Africa: World of New Men* in this respect thus:

> I studied your Philadelphia politics and your labor unions; the way they are organized and the way they operate. I went to Communist meetings and Socialist meetings and Republican meetings and Labor meetings. I studied them all - the campaign methods, the way they get out the vote, the way they work with other groups, the way they bring pressure to bear...It was all most useful.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his studies also understood that no colonial power ever relinquished power on a silver platter but only when forced to do so. Hence, on the platform, while preparing the mind of the crowd at the Accra Arena before announcing the transformation of the Committee on Youth Organization into a political party, he, for the first time, openly outlined the resistance method, stressing its mass-line aspect. He reports this at page 103 of the *Autobiography* thus:

> I explained to them [the crowd of 'about sixty thousand people'] the necessity for backing our demand for self-government with a programme of positive action employing legitimate agitation, newspaper and political educational campaigns and the application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of non-violence. I advised against diplomacy and deception as I pointed out to them that the British, as past masters themselves of diplomatic tactics, would far prefer to have from us frankness and firmness. A policy of collaboration and appeasement would get us nowhere in our struggle for immediate self-government. "The time has arrived", I declared, "when a definite line of action must be taken if we are going to save our country from continued imperialist exploitation and oppression..."

A line was thus drawn between a policy of mass pressure and a policy of collaboration. Unlike the period 1898 – 1947 when the intelligentsia conducted itself on a policy of collaboration *via* constitutional approaches, the new era saw a leadership focused mainly on radical mass actions to force the pace of achieving self-government and independence. To all intents and purposes the intelligentsia was sidelined as reflected in all elections leading to the achievement of independent and republican status in 1957 and 1960 respectively.

The strategic division on policy is celebrated in Dr. Danquah's statement before Dr. Nkrumah was arrested for the CPP's declaration of Positive Action. Dr. Danquah had stated that 'It is obvious that the law, as far as Kwame Nkrumah is concerned, must go according to him. It is my opinion that those who go against constitutional authority must expect to pay for it with their neck.' Of course, Dr. Nkrumah was aware of that risk and was prepared for it.

The Circle's motto of 1945 was: 'Service, Sacrifice, Suffering'. He had known of the dangers involved in taking that policy option. He had also learned of that from Mahatma Gandhi's experience. And at the appointed time, when he was to be arrested, like Gandhi, he kept calm walking steadily towards the policeman effecting the arrest.

***

There is no doubting that in the formulation of that policy of resistance Dr. Nkrumah was the brain and author. As the leader of The Circle he was responsible for its fabrication. No one else had, at the time, appeared qualified to do so. This is reflected in the fact that all others within The Circle were supposed to accept his leadership. Certainly, it would have been of great benefit to us if our research on The Circle had revealed the names of the other members of it. Nonetheless, it is common knowledge among historians that his type was rare. Such historians attest to the fact that he had only a few cadres to assist him in this respect. D. N. Pritt, editor of the *Labour Monthly* in Britain in the period after the 1966 coup d'état and who had worked at the University of Ghana, did write in a letter to Reba Lewis:

> I found Nkrumah personally charming (not that that is very important to an assessment of him). I thought and think of him as a great man and a real Socialist, who tackled the appalling problems of capitalist hostility **with inadequate cadres**... (emphasis added). See Reba Lewis' letter, dated 26 July 1970 and addressed to Dr. Nkrumah, in June Milne's *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years – Letters and Documents*, p. 379.

If even **after** independence Dr. Nkrumah had a problem with 'inadequate cadres' we can imagine what the situation was **before** that. This confirms his own statement that he 'fought single-handed'. See his letter, dated 27 May 1967, to June Milne (op. cit. p. 155). The point here is that he never complained about this personnel inadequacy nor made it a reason to delay the attainment of independence. He rather declared that 'We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquillity' and that 'We have the right to govern ourselves'; not to talk about his assertion that 'We have the right to live as men.' The enthusiasm generated by this singleness of purpose among the masses of the people can only be contrasted with the lethargic approach of the UGCC in its procrastinating collaborationism underscored with dogged enthusiasm to observe colonial repressive legal processes.

Dr. Kwame Okoampa-Ahoofe cites the 'bungling' of 'the administrative apparatus inherited from the British' on the part of Dr. Nkrumah as the reason why we should rather 'admire Danquah's courage and honesty in acknowledging the embarrassing fact' of personnel inadequacy. Perhaps if he re-reads Chapter 13 of the *Autobiography*, captioned 'Tactical Action', he

would rather observe not just Dr. Nkrumah's insight into the problem of that inadequacy and how, from 1951, that is still under colonial rule, Dr. Nkrumah pragmatically addressed it without showing signs to the colonial authorities that as part of socialist reconstruction that administrative apparatus was to be replaced. He would indeed see and understand Dr. Nkrumah's dexterity and courage in handling his Africanization policy as compared with Dr. Danquah's fright in the face of the enormity of the problem. Hear Dr. Nkrumah:

> In 1951 the twenty per cent of African government employees were mainly in the junior service. As things were going and unless Africanisation was speeded up it looked to me as if it would be many years before our people would be sufficiently qualified and experienced enough to take over responsible posts in the civil service. On the other hand, I was faced with a far more serious problem if the overseas officers, realising that Africans were being trained to take over from them and that their days were therefore numbered, resigned *en bloc* from their posts. Some of the Europeans at that time were very much of the old colonial type. The sight of an African in any job above messenger or clerk would have been more than they could stand and they might well have insisted on his removal or tendered their own resignation on the spot. Unfortunately we could not afford to wave them goodbye and I realised that the problem was going to call for much thought and tact.
>
> From the point of view of the overseas officer I could quite understand that he had his career to consider. He had joined the Colonial Service under certain conditions and when the amendments that I visualised were made to the existing constitution I could see that in a country on the verge of independence he would not be able to retain the status which was given to him under the old colonial regime. He would be faced with a choice: to leave the country or to surrender his existing terms of appointment under the Colonial Service regulations by joining the Gold Coast service and accepting full local control.
>
> And so I set about planning a Gold Coast local civil service in which these overseas officers could elect to serve if they wanted to. At the same time I knew that this in itself was not enough. Some inducement would have to be offered to make it worth their while to stay, otherwise there would be a general exodus which would not be in the interests of the country. I therefore formed a proposal for compensation for loss of career in order to secure the interest of the officers concerned and to retain their services as long as possible until we were in a position to put through our Africanisation programme... Our position was unlike that of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, for at the time they achieved independence, all three of these countries had a public service which was largely indigenous (pp. 148-149).

That was surely a show of rare courage to take the initiative **away** from the British as quickly as possible. To hide away from the problem and expect the British to continue to lead the initiative in ''preparing'' the indigenous African to take over was not an act of courage but a lacklustre exhibition of irresponsibility founded on a dishonest dereliction of national duty. Hence, Dr. Okoampa-Ahoofe's holding an exception to Dr. Danquah's behaviour if even defensively. We do not see that compared with Dr. Nkrumah, Dr. Danquah deserves to be carried shoulder high for such exhibitionism.

More so, we should rather hold it against Dr. Busia for his attempt to reverse the wheels of history in the face of all these efforts to forestall what the Republic of Guinea was to go through a year after Dr. Nkrumah had expressed and recorded this wisdom in pragmatism in his *Autobiography*. No doubt that Dr. Nkrumah was the only African to have understood Guinea's predicament and speedily helped out.

Clearly then, he was miles ahead of the UGCC fold. His show of singleness of purpose for the speedy attainment of independence in terms of thinking out the strategy of resistance and administrative reforms and pursuing these in action marks him out not only as to his crystal intentions and interest in the independence project but more significantly as its master strategist. Unwavering in his stance and sense of focus, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah singularly mapped out the processes for the progressive realization of a people's generational dream and quest for self-determination. Such were the attitudes that made Mahatma Gandhi the Father of India.

***

Prof. Mike Ocquaye, in the presentation cited above, states that the 'published aims and objects of the NLM [National Liberation Movement] reflected the objectives of the UGCC'. Among them was one which sought 'To secure due recognition of the economic, social and cultural background of the respective regions of the Gold Coast and work out a federal or any better form of Constitution to give the country an effective voice in the regional and Central Government of the country.' Commenting on this, he explains that 'the NLM essentially wanted guarantees to the liberty of the various regions/areas of Ghana'. He calls the principle involved here 'federalism or regional devolution or any other arrangement that would recognize authority apart from the Centre'. Immediately after this the NLM stated its intention 'To banish lawlessness, intimidation, hooliganism, disregard for age and authority, suppression of individual conscience and all traces of communism'.

It is important to pick up the essential ideological thread that held and continues to hold these assertions together if we are to understand Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's reaction to them. In this respect, in the thought of the NLM,

communism is associated with lawlessness, intimidation, hooliganism, disregard for age and authority and suppression of individual conscience. Built upon a rejection of these 'traces of communism' the NLM erected the edifice of regional liberty. And Prof. Ocquaye expresses this regional liberty in equivalence to 'regional autonomy'. He asserts the need 'to ensure countervailing authority'. He declares that 'Our people wanted diffusion of power or countervailing authority...The demand for federalism was a power-sharing cry which came out of suspicion'. And the suspicion arose from the fact that 'Nkrumah had threatened the chiefs of Ghana and treated them with contempt. He was becoming a socialist despot. Hence, the NLM reared its head led by Baafour Osei Akoto' who was a Chief Linguist of Asante. Anti-communism thus forges alliance with feudalism.

Prof. Ocquaye is not entirely correct in this historical representation. He neglects the important fact that the NLM went beyond an issue of devolution of power and actually agitated for **secession**. That was the 'Mate Me Ho' tragedy. He neglects the fact that the NLM was a regionalist movement that concentrated its efforts within the Asante region. The Wikipedia entry on the NLM states that 'The original aim of this Movement was not to oppose independence of Ghana but to maintain the freedom, the liberty, the tradition and cultural heritage of the Asante Nation.' There were other similarly-based organizations like the Northern People's Party, led by Chief S. D. Dombo, and the Togoland Congress. In his autobiography *Struggle Against Dictatorship*, Baafour Osei Akoto states that 'The NLM believed in federalism as the best means of checking abuse of power and dictatorship'. It is clear in this light that parochial interests emerged in the pre-1957 era as centrifugal forces. To address them and compel those forces into national rather than regionalist activities Dr. Nkrumah acted.

The secessionist threats were represented by the Togoland Congress that sought to unite the Ewe in the Gold Coast with those in the Trust Territories of Togoland as a separate country, the NLM that sought to achieve an autonomous Asante and the Northern People's Congress that, according to Dr. Mahamadu Bawumia, had 'the singular purpose of developing the North'. To contain these threats, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah remained on the ground of relying on the mass of the people to win the struggle against federalism in favour of a unitary state through the 1954 and 1956 elections and the 1956 referendum on the question of Trans-Volta/Togoland. With regard to the operation of organizations on tribal and religious lines he had to apply a legislative instrument that compelled the factional entities to assume a national character. How he achieved these ends of aborting the secessionist threats and compelling political and other organizations to operate beyond tribal and ethnic parameters are briefly addressed in this section.

First, the issue of federalism. It is instructive to observe that that issue was not directed against the British. Linking it with 'the communist threat' was a way of co-opting the British colonial administration against the Nkrumah regime in the period before the attainment of independence – similar to what the Fanti Confederation did to the Asante. Dr. Nkrumah had considered the communist 'charge' diversionary enough to warrant a statement on it in the Legislative Assembly to "allay" British fears even before the NLM emerged in later months. Dealing with the issue at a time when he himself did not have enough Marxist socialists or communists to assist him and applying the principle of Tactical Action, he adopted a pragmatic approach of barring **non-existent** communists from assuming positions in the civil service. In Dede Amanor-Wilks' doctoral dissertation, *Peasants, Settlers and Weavers in Africa* 2006, she attaches an appendix that captures the 1954 statement in the Legislative Assembly. That had freed him from the diversion. We quote Appendix 5 to the dissertation at length thus:

Prime Minister Nkrumah's statement to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, 25 February 1954

The Prime Minister (Dr Kwame Nkrumah): With your permission, Mr Speaker, I wish to make a statement on the attitude of the Government towards the employment of Communists in the Public Service.

I should like to quote the words which the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (then Mr Attlee) used when addressing the House of Commons on this subject in March 1948. He said:-

Experience, both in this country and elsewhere has shown that membership of, and other forms of continuing association with, the Communist Party may involve the acceptance by the individual of a loyalty, which in certain circumstances can be inimical to the State.

This warning seems to me to apply with even greater force to a young and rising nation like our own. The Government of the Gold Coast will therefore in future refuse to employ, in certain branches of the Public Service, persons who are proved to their satisfaction to be active Communists… [Administrative, Education, Labour, Information Services, Police, Army and Gold Coast Commissioner's Office overseas.]

The Government will not tolerate the employment of public servants who have shown that their first loyalty is to an alien Power or a foreign Agency which seems to bring our country under its domination.

I would also like to add that in recent months foreign organisations have been taking an increasing interest in our affairs, as we approach the goal of self-government. Large quantities of pamphlets and magazines are being sent to this country from abroad. All of it is

tendentious, and some of it is designed to stir up trouble which may obstruct or destroy our movement in this country for self-government. Again, certain persons in this country are being given free air passages to attend conferences behind what is generally known as the Iron Curtain, with all expenses paid; and scholarships are being offered for Gold Coast students to attend conferences and seminars organised by Communistic organisations. The Government are taking measures to deal with this aspect of the matter.

In conclusion I should like to emphasise that these measures are being taken solely as a precaution and to protect the security of the Gold Coast, and not on political grounds. The Government do not seek—they have never sought—to dictate to the people what political views they may or may not hold. We believe in freedom of speech and will protect it. But I am sure that hon. Members from all parts of the House will agree that the first loyalty of all of us must be to our own country, and that the Government have the duty to protect our people from the insidious attack of those who, at the very time when we are freeing ourselves from one form of imperialism, seek to undermine and destroy us or to bind us to another which would swiftly undo all the work that has been done in recent years to foster the growth of the Gold Coast as a free and independent nation.

Source: Gold Coast Legislative Assembly Debates. Official Report 25 February 1954. p.980

While the seeds of the Non-Alignment Policy can easily be discerned in this statement there is no doubting the fact that it was a politically correct statement to make in the midst of the Cold War and the advantage that the Opposition sought to reap. In fact, after independence and attainment of republican status, to rather address the problem of the **inadequacy** of such 'communists', Dr. Nkrumah created the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba where these same civil servants were sent to for retraining in tune with Marxist socialist ideology. At the Institute, Marxist socialists from Africa and elsewhere were the lecturers. In the meantime, in issuing that statement two birds were killed with a stone: the possible British fear allayed and the Opposition device deflated. Upon the emergence of the NLM he had a free hand to deal with the issue of federalism.

Dr. Nkrumah and wife Fathia with Chiefs

The NLM had emerged out of suspicion arising out of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's threats against chiefs and contempt for them, according to Prof. Ocquaye. Historical accounts by sources sympathetic to the NLM, however, agree with Dr. Nkrumah's narrative that traces its origins to opposition from farmers to the Cocoa Duty and Development

Funds (Amendment) Bill introduced into the Legislative Assembly on August 10th, 1954. In fact, Prof. Ocquaye sees that as 'the immediate cause' of the NLM's formation. During the political campaigns prior to the June 15th, 1954 elections, by the account of the cited Wikipedia entry, the CPP 'had promised to increase the price of cocoa'; but it 'reneged on this promise'. The accounts add that attempts by the Ashanti Farmers Union 'to have this situation rectified was met with threats of violence, detention and even deportation'. Consequent upon this, 'some disaffected Ashanti Farmers Union members within the Convention People's Party, namely Osei Asibbey and Opanin Tawiah Kusi Ampofo and six others' approached Chief Linguist Baafour Osei Akoto.

On his part, Dr. Nkrumah explains in his *Autobiography*, Chapter 19, that given the fact that the price of cocoa had risen to a record height due to world market demand having exceeded the supply a proportionate increase in the price paid to the farmers would lead to higher prices for consumer goods and a higher demand for wage and salary increases. This would have affected the Development Plan under way as well as the costs of the Second Development Plan being drawn up. A policy to cater for both the general public and the farmers became necessary. Hence, the Cocoa Bill was passed in the Legislative Assembly after three days of consideration 'with the blessing of the opposition members'. The effect of this was a Government guarantee to pay a certain price whether the world price was higher or lower. Whatever funds accrued from the policy was to be used on expanding the economy, especially agriculture. The initial cocoa farmer reaction was favourable. But remnants of various political parties seized the opportunity to revive agitation against the Government.

Prof. K. A. Busia

The thrust of the agitation was an alleged injustice to the farmer and the attempt 'to convince the people of how much better off they would all be if they managed their own affairs.' According to Dr. Nkrumah, 'At this time allegations were made that the money which the cocoa growers were pouring into the Government coffers was being used in developing the coastal, or Colony region of the country and that Ashanti, which should be deriving most benefit from the money, was being neglected.' It was in this atmosphere that some CPP members of the Ashanti Farmers Union approached the Asantihene's Chief Linguist crying foul. Baafour Osei Akoto seized the opportunity of instigated spontaneity to found and lead the NLM which had been preceded by the short-lived Council for Higher Cocoa Prices formed by those party remnants. The NLM and the Asanteman Council, headed by the Asantehene, thereupon constituted themselves into an opposition that made a

federal form of government their *raison d'être*. Dr. Danquah and Dr. Busia later joined it, according to the Wikipedia entry.

A campaign of violence against CPP members followed after what Dr. Nkrumah calls the NLM's 'purely political campaign' had failed. Concerned that the situation would lead to serious civil disturbance if the CPP members retaliated, Dr. Nkrumah restrained them lest the British, who looked on unconcerned, would declare 'that a country in a state of bordering on civil war was hardly in a fit condition to take charge of its own affairs'. Not the Government but the British had full control over the police and the army. In fact, Dr. Nkrumah says at page 219 of the *Autobiography* that if those security forces were 'in the hands of my Government, the revolt, disobedience and disregard of law, order and justice in Ashanti would never have happened.' In the circumstance, he rather moved a motion in the Assembly for a Select Committee to examine the question of a federal system and that of a Second Chamber. The Opposition was to be represented by five and the Government by seven; but the Opposition declined participation calling what was about to happen a 'farcical drama'.

The Secretary of State had made a statement to the effect that transfer of power would be delayed until there was a settled atmosphere. The Opposition, therefore, 'had it fixed in their heads that as long as they disagreed with everything the Government proposed, they would be assured of delaying Independence indefinitely', Dr. Nkrumah says. In the event, however, the Select Committee declined to recommend the proposed federal system and postponed discussion on a Second Chamber till after independence. All the same, Dr. Nkrumah had to move a motion in the Assembly to request the British Government to send a Constitutional Adviser to the Gold Coast to help formulate a new constitution and advise on devolution of regional powers and functions. Sir Frederick Bourne then came. The NLM refused to meet him while he was in Kumasi. Their excuse was based on the new State Councils (Ashanti) Amendment Bill which had made it possible for chiefs to appeal to the Governor against their destoolment by the Asanteman Council. Chiefs opposed to federalism were being destooled then.

Sir Frederick reported to the Governor on December 17th, 1955 in spite of the Opposition boycott. He proposed a consultative and deliberative assembly in each region. Earlier on in the year, the Secretary of State had made it clear to Dr. Nkrumah that unless a substantial majority of the people had demonstrated a desire for independence in the very near future and had agreed on a workable constitution the British Government would hesitate to grant independence. To this end, Dr. Nkrumah suggested a representative Conference to discuss the Bourne Report as well as the form of the constitution. Sir Frederick Bourne was invited to the Conference and all but

the NLM and the Asanteman Council even after persuasion by the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs attended. Due to the NLM's absence the Conference failed to meet the terms of the Secretary of State. Violence continued in Kumasi and arms and ammunition were found in both camps leading to prosecutions in court. In spite of the atmosphere of violence the British insisted on elections being held against Dr. Nkrumah's advice.

The CPP won the elections with 71 out of 104 seats; an independent's support increased it to 72.

***

Before those July 17th, 1956 elections the question of British Togoland was settled on May 9th, 1956. The problem here was that the Ewe were divided in three portions – those in the Gold Coast, those in British Togoland and those in French Togoland. The Togoland Congress wanted British Togoland separated from the Gold Coast. The CPP wanted the unification of British Togoland with the Gold Coast. The Togoland Congress received the support of all the anti-CPP parties.

British Togoland and French Togoland were together a German Protectorate from 1884 until 1914. On the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, that territory was declared a Trusteeship administered by both the British in the Gold Coast and the French in Dahomey. The British were to the west and the French were to the east; hence British Togoland and French Togoland. Between 1914 and 1920 most of Eweland was within British Togoland. But in 1920 it was divided between the French and the British.

This division meant that a significant portion of Eweland had become part of French Togoland. Under the previous arrangement – that is, after the dismemberment of the German Protectorate – the British administered virtually the entire Eweland, part as a Trusteeship and part as a dependency together with and within the Gold Coast. Only a tiny portion was in French Togoland. The 1920 division changed the situation and the Ewe were significantly divided officially into the three parts.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah observes that exercise as 'splitting up homogeneous tribes by international frontiers as if one were cutting a cake' (*Autobiography*, p. 260). To address this anomaly an All-Ewe Conference was formed by the Ewe to agitate for the removal of all international frontiers separating Eweland. At the United Nations both the British and the French admitted that the positions of the Conference were those of the mass of the Ewe people.

But rather than leaving the issue of Ewe unification to be decided by the people themselves in a plebiscite the British introduced a complication that delayed determination. They made it clear at the United Nations that the

discussion of Ewe in the Trust Territory should not involve a discussion of the Ewe in the Gold Coast. In the spirit of divide and rule, the British stated that the Gold Coast was not a Trust Territory and as such the Ewe therein could not be brought into the Trusteeship question.

From 1920, therefore, the British consistently pursued a policy of Ewe disunity and a freezing of that disunity. Dr. Nkrumah observes that if the pre-1920 arrangement had remained the Togoland problem might not have arisen. In the circumstance, he was determined to have a united country including Trans-Volta/Togoland. To achieve this, he played the independence card with the insistence that 'the whole question should be viewed from the angle of freedom and independence' (ibid.).

In pursuit of this, he impressed upon the British Government the necessity of linking the Togoland question with Gold Coast independence in a statement at the United Nations. The British swallowed the bait. That statement on the future of British Togoland was made at the UN in 1954. According to Dr. Nkrumah's narrative 'the British Government pointed out that when the Gold Coast achieved independence, Her Majesty's Government would no longer be in a position to continue to administer Togoland under United Kingdom administration as an integral part of the Gold Coast' (ibid. p. 261).

In addition, 'the British Government suggested that the objectives of the Trusteeship agreement would be achieved if Togoland attained self-government as an integral part of an independent Gold Coast'. In consequence of this, a UN mission visited British Togoland in August, 1955. Consequent upon the mission's report, a plebiscite was decided to be held there for the people themselves to decide whether to unite with the Gold Coast at the time of independence or to remain under Trusteeship in separation from the Gold Coast.

Dr. Nkrumah's commitment to unification with the Gold Coast is stated unequivocally thus: 'I had never for one minute contemplated excluding that part of Togoland under United Kingdom administration from my political organisation of the Gold Coast, for it was my aim to bring about a united country embracing all four regions – the Northern Territories, Ashanti, the Colony and Trans-Volta/Togoland.' To this end, he set the CPP machinery in Togoland at work to make sure that the people understood the issues at stake. The result favoured union in the plebiscite.

The effect of the plebiscite was the incorporation of the greater part of Eweland **formally** into the Gold Coast. That area includes the site of the Akosombo Dam that provides hydro-electricity to Ghana in the main and the Republic of Togo. Dr. Nkrumah's pressure on the British and pursuit of a united country not only configured Ghana as is in its geography and

topography but also brought the larger portion of a dismembered ethnic entity together. The NLM and other opposition parties had supported the separation of British Togoland from the Gold Coast. Could they found Ghana as it is?

***

The second issue, apart from the one on secessionism or separatism, which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had to address, was the question of sectarianism as in terms of tribalism, ethnicism and religious parochialism. The National Liberation Movement, the Northern People's Party, the Anlo Youth Organization, the Muslim Association Party and the Togoland Congress were all either regionally or religiously based. At a point, Dr. Nkrumah sounded disturbed and worried when he said:

> What I cannot understand is why these opposition parties don't get together and use their energy in a more constructive and effective way by forming themselves into a **nationwide** opposition party, instead of racking their brains for ways and means of overthrowing the party in power and believing that the dynamiting of the houses of our party members would be as final in its destruction as that of a child's sand castle knocked down in a fit of rage by a fellow playmate (emphasis added). (See Peter Kofi Amponsah's article 'Kwame Nkrumah and the Development of Democratic Rule-of-Law State in Ghana'.)

It is sufficient to state here that in the very first year of independence he resolved this situation with the passage of The Avoidance of Discrimination Act (1957), which 'outlawed parties based on racial, regional, or religious differences'. That created the grounds compelling these parties to unite as the United Party (UP). Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia became its leader.

That Act, Kwesi Pratt points out, created the United Party. It virtually forced the splinters of opposition parties to gather to create a semblance of a national front. This fact remains an embarrassment to persons like Prof. Ocquaye who avoids a single reference to the **United Party** in his presentation. Rather than trace the origins of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) to the **nationally** based UP he continues to talk of the **regionalist** NLM. Ironically, when it comes to references to the NPP's **tradition** he talks of a 'Danquah-Busia-Dombo tradition' which could be traced to the UP but not the NLM. This deep-seated nostalgia for the NLM is linked to an anxiety to bury NPP's historical origins from the **Act**. The point is that that tradition, apart from the Nkrumah interregnum, has always been regionalist in spirit.

By Prof. Ocquaye's calculation, 'The Danquah-Busia-Dombo Tradition has only governed for ten years and three months out of 57 years.' In spite of this

period in power, the Tradition never abrogated The Avoidance of Discrimination Act although some of its representatives, who ever dare to speak on the issue, condemn it as a mark of Dr. Nkrumah's dictatorial tendencies directed at muzzling the opposition. Whatever adverse motives are attributed to the Act it stands the test of time as all Constitutions after the Nkrumah Regime, including the 1969 Constitution that Prof. Ocquaye claims the credit for the Tradition, have retained the philosophy underscoring it. Sectarianism in national life continues to suffer an uneasy existence in the Ghanaian political psyche since Dr. Nkrumah injected the Act into it.

***

In our research, we came across the piece 'This Haste for a Republic: Address Delivered Under the Auspices of the United Party at the Palladium, Accra, on February 26, 1960' by Dr. J. B. Danquah. We could not have access to its content. And without access to the content of that Address, therefore, it might be unfair to pretend to be analysing it here. Whatever the content is, however, the title at once conveys a message of anxiety about the pace at which the pursuit of a republican status for Ghana was going. Of course, being in haste about everything concerning Ghana and Africa remained a defining characteristic of Dr. Nkrumah till his demise. He had always said that what it took other countries centuries to achieve a newly independent country must take just a decade or so to accomplish.

The Danquah-Busia-Dombo Tradition was certainly fabricated by persons who were either members of a feudal royalty or aligned to it. Of the five leading members of the British-created Big Six belonging to the UGCC, that is, Dr. J. B. Danquah, William Ofori Atta, Edward Akuffo-Addo, Dr. Ako Adjei and Obetsebi Lamptey, the first three were related to the Akyemhene, Sir Nana Ofori Atta I, of Akyem Abuakwa. Chief S. D. Dombo, on the other hand, was effectively a Chief of Duori in the Upper West Region of Ghana. The NLM, to which some of these belonged, was founded and led by the Chief Linguist of the Asantehene, Sir Nana Osei Tutu Agyeman Prempeh II, head of the Asanteman Council which was in alliance with the NLM in the pursuit of federalism. These British-knighted Kings were nice to the British.

Sir Nana Osei Tutu Agyeman Prempeh II greeting British Premier Harold MacMillan

Certainly, if these personalities were not in haste Dr. Kwame Nkrumah truly was. On the day, July 1st 1960, when Ghana was born as a Republic he addressed the nation and proclaimed that with the birth of the Republic 'the end of its struggle for freedom' had not only been brought about but also that

> Our plan therefore must be to build up industries, heavy and basic, and to diversify and mechanise our agriculture, and we must do this with the **utmost speed**, if we are not to be overtaken by events. The pace at which the world travels today is so **fast** that no loafer-nations can survive the rate of change. That is why our nation must throw in everything into this economic and social revolution and make sure that Ghana comes out a winner (emphases added). (Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 1, p. 88.)

In these words on the first Republic Day, he explained that, one, the struggle for freedom had **now** been completely achieved; and, two, that the pace of development in the world was so **fast** that building the economy required **utmost speed**. Certainly, whoever complained of haste to consummate one's freedom must either be prepared to continue to live at least a little longer in incomplete freedom and servitude and, therefore, continue under foreign sovereignty or be in ignorance of the exigencies of the times. Only the spirit of ***gbeshie*** could inflict such a mental disposition on one who claimed to be working to achieve freedom 'in the shortest possible time'.

Of course, Dr. Kwame Okoampa-Ahoofe, after claiming all policies implemented by Dr. Nkrumah as Dr. Danquah's initiatives within the Gold Coast Youth Conference, finds it debateable that the UGCC had Dr. Nkrumah's sense of urgency for the implementation of those policies. Once again, we quote from his article in reference thus: 'It may, however, be legitimately debated regarding whether had the UGCC rather than Nkrumah's CPP, ushered the Gold Coast into its glorious era of sovereignty, the implementation of the preceding policies might have been accorded the same urgency in deployment afforded by the Nkrumah government.'

Dr. Nkrumah with Queen Elizabeth II in 1961

Probably, Dr. Nkrumah was responding to the possible objection to haste when he said in that nation-wide broadcast that 'Real and genuine independence must ... precede the attainment of ... aim. For this we are sure that the current now flowing is strongly in the direction of **absolute liberty**. Those African leaders who are attempting to **temporise** by arranging behind the backs of their people undercover links with the former Colonial Powers will surely fail. For, the force of the mass movement towards freedom will not tolerate reactionary and double-dealing politicians (op. cit. p. 89).' On July 30th 1960, as if in answer, again, to the UP fold, he had addressed Parliament and stated:

> Mr. Speaker, we have adopted a Republican Constitution not through any lack of affection for Her Majesty, nor because of any dissatisfaction with the way in which the Office of Governor General has been discharged.
>
> The people of Ghana have enacted for themselves a new Constitution because of our convictions that we need a form of Government which will more truly interpret the aspirations and hopes of the people of Ghana and give full expression to the African personality (op. cit. p. 85).

Whatever then might have propelled the United Party to talk about haste in achieving republican status – be it a device to indicate their fawning affection for the feudal head of the British Empire or something else – Dr. Kwame Nkrumah proved to be the architect of Ghana's republican status without an expression of hatred for the United Kingdom and in spite of opposition thoughts concerning timing. Dr. Busia had protested against the timing of the 'grant' of independence. Dr. Danquah appeared to have also complained about the timing for republican status. In both cases, the UP did not exercise the initiative. Truly, independence and republican status were fought for but not simply granted.

V

Conclusions

Prof. Mike Ocquaye asserts in the paper he delivered at the New Patriotic Party's 21st anniversary lecture on August 22, 2013 that 'The seed was duly sown. And Nkrumah was not only physically in the UK, but also he made no input whatsoever. Nkrumah came and added bountifully to it. And Nkrumah was a great man. But he was not in Ghana when it all started. Nkrumah was not the Founder! Danquah conceived the idea of calling the independent Gold Coast, Ghana.' Compared with Dr. J. B. Danquah's historico-legal analysis, 'The Historical Significance of the Bond of 1844', (1957), Prof. Ocquaye's paper stands in manifest inferiority bordering on mediocrity not only in methodology but also in presentation of facts.

The Watson Commission, in its investigation of the 1948 riots, did not only collect oral evidence from those arrested. It scrutinized, as well, important UGCC documents such as the Minute Book of its Working Committee and The Circle Document found in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's possession. It concluded in its report that 'From the internal evidence of the Minute Book of the Working Committee, the Convention did not really get down to business until the arrival of Mr. Kwame Nkrumah on 16th December, 1947, and his assumption of the post as Secretary'. Dr. Nkrumah confirms this in his book *Autobiography* to the effect that he found only a couple of inactive branches upon arrival.

Furthermore, Dr. Danquah himself traces the origin of the liberation struggle not to the date when he was supposed to have 'conceived the idea of calling the independent Gold Coast, Ghana' but to the reaction of the people against the illegality of the British Proclamation of 1874 when he had not yet been born. He was born twenty-one years later. In fact, 'the seed was duly sown' *actively* by the struggles of the chiefs and people in their resistance against British attempts to take over their land. This resistance in the streets from 1894, a year before Dr. Danquah was born, led to the emergence of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society which formalized the struggle in *legalistic* forms.

In asserting the bountiful nature of Dr. Nkrumah's contribution to the UGCC's work, Prof. Ocquaye fails to consider the qualitative dimensions of that contribution as well. Quantitatively, Dr. Nkrumah expanded the couple of inactive branches to over five hundred active ones in the Colony proper alone within six months and further across the country to all corners of the then existing four regions. Qualitatively, Dr. Nkrumah, by design, injected a new and contrary ideological content into the mobilization and organizational effort. In so doing, he followed the contrasting programme of the secret vanguard organization of professional revolutionaries, The Circle, directed at West African unity, liberation and socialism. In that event, he consciously created something different from what the UGCC had invited him to do.

Realization of this ideological difference on the part of the other leaders of the UGCC inaugurated a spate of informal efforts to prove Dr. Nkrumah's communist inclination. These informal activities led the said leaders to branch offices where their hostility towards Dr. Nkrumah came to the knowledge of branch executives. Subsequent acts of demotion against him and plans to dismiss him from the party led to pressures from the rank and file of the party on him to resign. This turn of events had long been anticipated by Dr. Nkrumah himself before his return home from the UK and he had not only worked himself into creating conditions for the moment of parting of ways but also consciously organized the movement in such a way as to carry the masses along with him at that crucial moment. The leaders played into his game plan.

Once Dr. Nkrumah had exited from the UGCC together with the mass membership into the new Convention People's Party the ideological differences played out big. The manifesto of the CPP for the crucial 1956 elections demanded of the voter to address two questions: 'Do I want independence in my life-time?' and 'Do I want to revert to feudalism and imperialism?' The leadership of the NLM and the Northern People's Party (NPP) was then made up of persons who were either associated with the feudal institution of chieftaincy or were themselves chiefs. And mass beliefs about the collaboration of the chiefs linked to the NLM-NPP with the colonial

administration associated feudalism with imperialism to the NLM-NPP's disadvantage.

Disaffected members of the CPP, arising out of election candidate nomination issues and difficulties with cocoa pricing policies, had respectively emerged as the Northern People's Party and the NLM. These and others like the Togoland Congress teamed up against the CPP on issues of opposition demands for a federal constitution and separation of British Togoland from the Gold Coast. On all these issues, Dr. Nkrumah led the CPP to win the battle for a unitary system of government against the demand for federalism as well as the incorporation of the British Togoland Trusteeship into independent Ghana against opposition support for a separate British Togoland Trusteeship.

And once independence was achieved in 1957 with a British Governor General still at the head of state as the representative of the Queen of the United Kingdom, all that was left was a Republican Constitution to complete the struggle for independence. After three years of independence, the UP still felt that attainment of the republican status in 1960 was rather hasty. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah thought otherwise. He constructed the Republican Constitution of 1960 which was endorsed and passed by Parliament. That Constitution did not only found Ghana as a Republic but also permitted the Republic to dissolve itself in the event of an African Continental Republican State emerging.

Hence, in the annals of Ghana's history when one talks of the founding of the State as a **unitary**, **republican** and **independent** entity **embracing the British Togoland Trust Territory** only one name is visible: Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. On each of these structures he stood alone among all the country's politicians. Prof. Evans Atta Mills was indeed not historically mistaken, therefore, in pronouncing him as The Founder of Ghana. In the face of such documented facts of history how does it sound to hear Prof. Mike Ocquaye ejaculate thus: 'Nkrumah was not the Founder of Ghana. The progenitors of the NPP founded Ghana and Nkrumah who had been invited by these unsung heroes, became one of the Founding Fathers by courtesy of that invitation'? A clean disrespect for and distortion of history!

It is only left that the current Parliament, with Prof. Mills' party in the majority, quickly and decisively endorses this in the appropriate legislative instrument. Else Prof. Mike Ocquaye will carry out his threat to distort history further *a la* this confused emission:

> ... you do not have to be a founder for your greatness to be recognized or given a holiday. Martin Luther King (USA) is an example. Nkrumah may be honoured with a holiday as First Prime Minister and first President. He also did a lot for Ghana regarding

> education, health, Akosombo Dam, Tema motorway etc. But we should have a real Founders' Day to honour ALL the real founding fathers, including Nkrumah. **The next NPP government must see to this.** (Emphasis added).

In that event, Prof. Ocquaye should rest assured that a veritable guerrilla war shall be conjured into existence to put things right. For, if he recognizes that 'you do not have to be a founder for your greatness to be recognized' why does he insist on **unqualified** persons to be recognized as founders when their possible greatness in their legal and/or professorial practice could be assessed and awarded in recognition as such? Why flout Dr. Danquah's historiographic criterion for the determination of a founder? Why this *morborful* fruitless attempt to claim unearned honours? This *gbeshie* syndrome! *E yé gbeyee*!

VI

Limitations of this Paper

The present paper has not sought to delve into the demands of the Fanti Confederation to determine what the chiefs' concerns and assumptions about the political situation were in 1868. That would have thrown light on how an African had become a member of the **Legislature**, a political institution, in 1850, only six years after the Bond of 1844 was signed – that is, if the Bond was a document dealing with just a juridical link between the Fanti and the British Crown.

Likewise, it has not delved into the concerns and attitudes of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (1898) which investigation would have helped us understand the growing imposition of British imperial rule on the basis of antecedents consequent upon the declaration of the Bond. Notwithstanding these limitations, Dr. J. B. Danquah's criterion for the determination of a founder remains valid and all-abiding as a historiographic principle for the apportionment of credit.

Some papers and articles could not be accessed in full. This made it difficult to let them impact significantly here. For instance, in the absence of direct access to the Minute Book of the UGCC we could have benefited much from Dennis Austin's 'Working Committee of the UGCC' article. Dr. J. B. Danquah's 'This Haste for a Republic Address' would have served a great purpose if we had had access to its contents.

We are, however, comforted by the fact that books consulted contained much primary materials that stand superior to those papers and articles. This does not prevent us from acknowledging that dependence on secondary source materials takes a little shine from the weight of opinions expressed.

It is our hope that subsequent access to all the materials missed would help us revise this text with the view to adding unto the weight of analytical judgements made herein.

Finally, though this is not intended as an academic or a scholarly piece we have made attempts to respect certain academic usages without sacrificing our Marxist-Nkrumaist partisanship. And there is no suggestion of regret here; for, we are yet to agree that the search for knowledge has nothing to do with how we would like to see the form and content that the world of human societies and their environmental dependents assume.

Every writer is a partisan. More especially for those of us who aspire to be professional revolutionaries in the make of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and even better.

BACK TO CONTENTS

SURPLUS-VALUE
(The Key Concept in the Study of Capitalist Political Economy)

A Manual for the Study of Karl Marx's
THEORIES OF SURPLUS-VALUE
(Volume IV of 'Capital')

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

CENCSA
Accra

SURPLUS-VALUE

Copyright © Lang T. K. A. Nubuor 2014

Published by the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA)

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission in writing of CENCSA, nor be otherwise circulated in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on subsequent purchaser.

Dedicated

To

Members of the Marxist Study Group (Accra) of the Socialist Forum of Ghana (SFG) in commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Launching of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's book Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonisation.

CONTENTS

About the Book *Theories of Surplus-Value*

Foreword

Chapter One:
Procedural Application

Chapter Two:
Surplus-Value: The Mercantilist Location Of It In Circulation Or Exchange

Chapter Three:
Surplus-Value: The Physiocratic Relocation Of It To The Realm Of Production From That Of Circulation Or Exchange

Chapter Four:
The Physiocrats: Realization Of Surplus-Value In Circulation

Chapter Five
The Physiocrats: Agricultural Labour As The Animator Of All Other Social Labours

Chapter Six
The Physiocrats: A Confusion Of Value With Material Substance

Chapter Seven
The Physiocrats: Rent As The Only And General Form Of Surplus-Value

Chapter Eight
Adam Smith: An Introduction

Chapter Nine
Surplus-Value: Adam Smith's Extension Of It To All Spheres Of Social Labour I

Chapter Ten
Surplus-Value: Adam Smith's Extension Of It To All Spheres Of Social Labour II

Chapter Eleven

Surplus-Value: Marx's Critique Of Adam Smith I

Chapter Twelve

Surplus-Value: Marx's Critique Of Adam Smith II

Chapter Thirteen

Surplus-Value: Marx's Critique Of Adam Smith III

ABOUT THE BOOK *THEORIES OF SURPLUS-VALUE*

'In spite of the fact that *Theories of Surplus-Value* was left in a form that had not (been) prepared for the press, this work gives a connected and complete picture of that "History of the Theories" which Marx intended to form the final, fourth volume of *Capital*. In it Marx sets forth the whole course of evolution of bourgeois political economy from the time of its birth up to its "grave", as vulgar political economy was called by Marx...

Analysing the attempts of bourgeois economists to resolve the basic problem of political economy, Marx reveals the class limitations that characterised even classical bourgeois political economy, the inability of the bourgeois economists to provide any internally consistent and scientifically grounded solution of the questions they dealt with, and above all the central problem – surplus-value.

Marx's manuscript reveals that the development of bourgeois political economy was a process full of contradictions; thus in examining the theories of Smith and Ricardo, Marx shows that in certain respects they brought science forward in comparison with the Physiocrats, but in other respects they repeated the mistakes of the Physiocrats and even took a step backwards...

Marx formulated the essential conclusions from his deep and comprehensive analysis of the history of bourgeois political economy, in concise and generalised form, in the Afterward to the second edition of Volume 1 of *Capital* (January 1873): In so far as it is bourgeois, "Political Economy can remain a science only so long as the class struggle is latent or manifests itself only in isolated phenomena".

He wrote of classical bourgeois political economy in England that it "belongs to the period in which the class struggle was as yet undeveloped". With the development of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat the character of bourgeois political economy undergoes a sharp change. From the time of the conquest of political power by the bourgeoisie in France and England "the class struggle, practically as well as theoretically, took on more and more outspoken and threatening forms. It sounded the knell of scientific bourgeois economy... In place of disinterested inquiries, there were hired prize-fighters; in place of genuine scientific research, the bad conscience and the evil intent of apologetic".'

Extracts from the Preface to the *Theories of Surplus-Value*, (Volume IV of *Capital*), Part I, Progress Publishers, 1963.

Foreword

Central to the operation and survival of the capitalist mode of production is the possibility and availability of *surplus-value*. No entrepreneurial investor (capitalist) puts his money where there is no possibility and availability of *surplus-value*. This attraction of *surplus-value* for the capitalist has attracted the attention of both intellectual advocates of the capitalist mode of production and those intellectuals who find everything fundamentally wrong with it.

The consequent controversy that the development of the capitalist economy generates has rendered the *surplus-value* concept from its scientific context to the realm of moral insinuations and guilt. This is such that proponents of capitalism shrink from the application of that concept in favour of *profit* as a concept. Such moral withdrawals do not help our deep appreciation of the scientific complexity of *surplus-value* as a scientific concept.

***

In this study of capitalist political economy we trace the theoretical history of *surplus-value*. By this endeavour we address the views of capitalist (or bourgeois) theoreticians ranging from the intellectual representatives of mercantilism, who stand in for commerce in the early definition of capitalist development, through the Physiocrats, who stand in for modern agriculture in that early stage of capitalism, to modern bourgeois writers like Adam Smith and Ricardo as well as the foremost analyst and critic of capitalism - Karl Marx.

This is an outline that is intended to serve as a guide to the study of capitalist political economy. There is no intention to present a detailed review of the intellectual positions held on *surplus-value*. In our adoption of a historical approach to the study we are prompted by the need for an appreciation of the *changes* involved in the development of the *concept*. By this we hold a difference in the existence of a phenomenon and its understanding over time.

Let it now be stated that this is not a study for the sake of study. In this era of attempts to develop or upgrade a welfare society we have already observed its deficiencies in guaranteeing the good life of all. The persistence in sticking to private ownership of the means of production in the labour process undermines the principle of humanism whereby the enhancement of each human person rules over all other considerations.

Collective ownership of the means of production whereby those who labour, physically and mentally, determine the processes of production and the

distribution of their products has occupied the minds of social thinkers. In this study our ultimate concern is with the question of how to convert private property in the labour process to collective property through the means of a Democratic Revolution. This task requires understanding *surplus-value* creation.

To facilitate an orderly study, Karl Marx's *Theories of Surplus-Value*, also known as *Volume IV of Capital*, is used as a textbook to guide reading. That book, in its three Parts, is chosen for its critical presentation of the history of political economy. Its balance of the critical appreciation of the contributions of bourgeois political economists with an exposition of their shortcomings affords any student a chance at developing skills for critical reasoning.

The great utility of the book is expressed in its preface in these words so loud and clear that nobody misses them:

> In *Theories of Surplus-value* Marx subjected all ... apologist subterfuges of vulgar political economy to devastating criticism. This great work of Marx has for that reason outstanding importance not only for understanding the history of bourgeois political economy, but also for the struggle against the present-day representatives of bourgeois reaction, who try to revive long-routed pseudo-scientific conceptions in order to use them in their dirty trade of justifying and defending the inhuman system of imperialism, that last stage of the capitalist system which has outlived its time.

Our concern for the science of political economy to retain its scientific status requires this critical vigilance. Only by that can we make of it a sharp tool for charting our way forward in the Democratic Revolution as the initial phase of the African Revolution under the guidance of Marxism-Nkrumaism in the socialist struggles of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism.

April 11, 2014

Tema

CHAPTER ONE

Procedural Application

ARI represents 'alienation', 'reification' and 'inversion'. It is a procedure for the analysis of texts. It begins from the assumption that the integrity (wholeness) of a phenomenon or process is disintegrated through analysis into its parts. The part, as a property of the phenomenon, is taken apart from it and projected as *another* and *independent* phenomenon. Hence, for instance, a worker's *labour-power* is treated as an independent saleable commodity.

The idea is that the worker's *labour-power* is treated in itself without consideration of the fact of its attachment to the worker. Thus, interest in that *labour-power* is not transferred to the worker as its owner. It is bought like any other commodity without reference to whatever happens to its owner after the purchase. This practice is captured in the *alienation* concept. The concept of *alienation* is hence the initial point of departure in the application of ARI.

Having tracked down this false analytical move in the text, ARI observes that the alienated *labour-power* is further treated as if it is not only *independent* of the worker but that as such an independent *existence* it has a life of its own. It is, in other words, *given* a life of its own. This *giving* of life to an abstraction of an alienated living part of the worker goes by the concept of *reification*. Once again, ARI observes a false procedural move in analysis.

The crucial moment in ARI application to the text comes when what is *alienated* and *reified* is then constructed or presented as that which *creates* the phenomenon from which it is *alienated* and *reified*. Thus, in our current discourse *labour-power* (rendered simply as *labour*) is said to *make* man: Labour maketh a man. This amounts to an *inversion* of the relationship. In *reality*, we know that man *exercises* his *labour-power* and not the inverse.

The application of ARI in textual analysis becomes handy in our consideration of theoretical statements of the views of leading exponents on *surplus-value* over these past centuries. We urge mastery of it as this helps to unearth erroneous views and identify correct ones. Our hope is that at the end of the study we are sufficiently armed to demystify idealist methods of enquiry in this and all other fields of enquiry; never ever forgetting ARI's practical import.[26]

[26] See Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value* (*Volume IV of Capital) Part* I, Progress Publishers (Moscow), 1963, pp.389-392 for an ARI application in action.

CHAPTER TWO

Surplus-value: The Mercantilist Location Of It In Circulation Or Exchange

To begin with, it is important to observe that in the *Theories of Surplus-Value*, as in all of Karl Marx's works, Karl Marx concentrates on what is of *scientific* value in the thought of other writers. He appreciates the slightest contribution made by the latter in the advancement of science and scientific knowledge. This does not prevent him from raising tempers against what he considers to be vulgar and, therefore, retards the advance of science. Hence, he does not condemn a piece of work on the basis of the author's class position or origin in the first place but on the basis of the validity of applied principles and soundness of argument. Only after this does he determine how the writer's view serves some class interest.

This attitude is reflected in Chapter 1 of *Theories of Surplus-value*, Part 1, in his handling of Sir James Steuart's views on *surplus-value*. That chapter serves as an introduction to or the beginning of the critical history of the theory of *surplus-value*. Before concluding that Steuart is 'the *rational* expression of the Monetary and Mercantile system' at page 43, he explains the scientific contribution Steuart makes to economic science. In this explanation, Marx first states that Steuart makes this contribution by expressing the Monetary and Mercantilist view on *surplus-value* 'in scientific form'. He then goes on not only to explain how Steuart does this but also to show the restrictions or shortcomings in that view.

***

According to Marx, the Mercantilist view on *surplus-value* situates it not in the *production process* but rather in the *process of exchange* or the *circulation* of manufactured products. That view does not distinguish between *surplus-value* and *profit*; that is, the former equates the latter. To wit, Marx says that 'Before the Physiocrats, surplus-value – *that is, profit in the form of profit* – was explained purely from *exchange*, the sale of the commodity above its value'. Not going beyond this 'restricted' view of *surplus-value*, Marx continues, Steuart all the same distinguishes between the forms of profit – *positive* profit and *relative* profit or, if you like, positive *surplus-value* and relative *surplus-value*.

Steuart does this in disagreement *within* the Mercantilist view wherein it is held that the 'surplus-value that accrues to the individual capitalist from *selling* the commodity above its value is a creation of new wealth'. Agreeing with Steuart, by way of stating that view as an 'illusion', Marx explains Steuart's position in these terms: *positive profit* means the situation whereby the development of the productive powers of labour results in *increment* in the mass of products available (or use-values); whereas *relative profit* does not lead to any such increment but only means a change of hands of the *existing* products whereby one loses them and the other gains. At that level profit stands for increase in exchange-value.

Steuart captures both positive profit and relative profit in the *price* of the products or 'goods' but distinguishes between them: the one relating to the *real value* of products that results from increase in the productivity (productive powers) of labour and the other to the exchange-value gained by selling the products above their real value. Marx states this latter in his interpretation of Steuart as 'the profit realised through (the products' or goods') transfer to another person, their sale' or in Steuart's own words 'the profit upon alienation'. And that this profit only leads to a 'gain and lose' situation is what Steuart expresses as 'a vibration of balance of wealth between parties'.

Marx goes on from here to explain what Steuart considers to constitute *real value*. By that concept, Steuart includes the amount (or 'quantity') of labour that a worker expends over a period of time, the amount (or 'value') of expenses that the worker makes to provide for his/her own sustenance and the instruments as well as the materials he uses in his work. The total of these amounts is the *real value* of the products. Whatever is higher than this real value, the difference therein between the real value and the price at which the products are sold, is the manufacturer's profit or *surplus-value*. This difference, and, therefore, the *amount* of profit or *surplus-value*, is determined by the strength of product demand – it fluctuates.

Marx observes that in this way, Steuart locates the realization of *surplus-value* or profit by the manufacturer not in the *production* process but in the process of *exchange* or, as he puts it, '*from its* (the product's) *sale above its real value*'. Let us not forget that *real value* is created only in the realm of the production process, according to Steuart. Hence, Marx understands Steuart's *surplus-value* as *relative profit* only; that is, in spite of the fact that he sees the price of goods being made up, according to Steuart, of the two elements of positive profit and relative profit. By this understanding, Steuart does not see the manufacturer *partaking* in any part of real value as profit or *surplus-value*; for, a product sold at real value bears no profit.

At page 43, Marx summarizes all this in these words: 'Steuart on the one hand rejects the conception of the Monetary and Mercantile systems, according to which the sale of commodities above their value, and the profit resulting therefrom, creates surplus-value, a positive increase of wealth. On the other hand he holds to their view that the profit of the individual capital is nothing but this excess of the price over the value, the profit upon alienation. This however according to him is only *relative*, the gain on the one side being compensated by the loss on the other, and consequently this movement is nothing more than 'a variation of the balance of wealth between parties'.

To conclude, Karl Marx credits Sir James Steuart with rendering a service to the theory of capital showing 'how the process of separation takes place between the conditions of production, as the property of a definite class, and labour-power.' Marx considers this process of separation as the genesis of capital to which Steuart pays a great attention without identifying it as such – the genesis of capital. Apart from saying that Steuart 'rightly' sees this process of separation in agriculture as the condition that brings manufacturing industry in its proper sense into being he does not elaborate on it; but states that in Adam Smith's subsequent writings the separation process is an assumed fact.

CHAPTER THREE

Surplus-Value: The Physiocratic Relocation Of It To The Realm Of Production From That Of Circulation Or Exchange

In our discussion in the previous chapter we explain how the Monetary and Mercantilist system understands *surplus-value* as a phenomenon within the process of exchange beyond the production process. In this chapter we discuss how the Physiocrats advance the science of political economy by their relocation (transfer) of *surplus-value* from the realm of exchange (or circulation)[27] to that of production where the products or commodities that are exchanged are made. In this regard, Marx observes that 'The Physiocrats transferred the inquiry into the origin of surplus-value from the sphere of circulation into the sphere of direct production, and thereby laid the foundation for the analysis of capitalist production.'[28]

Contrary to the popularized opinion in bourgeois intellectual circles that projects Adam Smith as the Father of modern political economy, Karl Marx says 'The analysis of capital, within the bourgeois horizon, is essentially the work of the Physiocrats. It is this service that makes them the true fathers of modern political economy.'[29] As the *true* fathers Adam Smith inherits from them the analysis of the various 'material components' or 'material elements' of capital and the establishment of the forms that capital assumes in circulation as well as the connection between the circulation process and the reproduction process of capital. Marx, however, credits him with consistently naming the distinctions made by the Physiocrats.

***

In his determination of how the Physiocrats transfer the inquiry into the origin of *surplus-value* from the sphere of circulation to that of direct production, Marx sees them locate *surplus-value* creation in *agricultural labour* but not in circulation or exchange outside production. He states that for the Physiocrats 'agricultural labour is the labour in which the creation of surplus-value appears in material and tangible form, apart from the process of circulation'.[30] This is illustrated in the instance where the labourer feeds on mangoes: he produces *more* mangoes than he feeds on; the difference between the two

[27] Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-value (Volume IV of Capital), Part 1*, 1963, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Chapter II, p. 49 where Marx uses 'circulation' and 'exchange' as interchangeables or meaning the same thing.
[28] Ibid. p. 45
[29] Ibid. p. 44
[30] Ibid. p. 48

represents *surplus-value*. In the language of the Physiocrats the mangoes, as products, are *use-values*.

The Physiocrats explain, however, that this agricultural production takes place with two players in an interaction – the labourer and the landlord. These enter the production process as bearers of *commodities*: the labourer has his *labour-power* and the landowner has the *minimum of wages* which are then exchanged. This exchange of commodities within the agricultural production process forms the basis upon which *surplus-value* is created. Having received the labourer's *labour-power* in exchange for the *minimum of wages* the landlord gets the labourer to exercise that *labour-power* to produce *use-values* over and above the *minimum of wages* in the exchange. The difference is the *surplus-value*.

Hence, Marx says of the Physiocrats that 'Quite correctly they lay down the fundamental principle that only that labour is *productive* which creates a *surplus-value*, in whose product, therefore, a higher value is contained than the sum of the values consumed during the production of this product.'[31] That *surplus-value* goes to the landlord in the scheme of affairs. For the Physiocrats, *this* amounts to an *appropriation of labour*. That is why Marx attributes this explanation of the appropriation of labour on the basis of exchange of commodities for *surplus-value* to the Physiocrats as its *originators*: the Physiocratic system, he says, 'was the first to explain *surplus-value* by the appropriation of the labour of others, and in fact to explain this appropriation on the basis of the exchange of commodities.'[32]

But Marx suggests that when the Physiocrats explain the process this way at the level of *use-values* and not 'value in general' they are left 'without a clear understanding of the nature of value'. In the Physiocratic system, 'value is reduced to use-value, and the latter to material substance in general' (that is, any material product) [33]. That is to say that when we understand use-values in terms of the concrete mangoes, for instance, that are produced over and above the number of mangoes consumed, we see the surplus *concretely*; and that this does not require any special understanding of what the nature of value is in order to see what has happened. In this way, the Physiocrats do not actually need that understanding since the situation is self-explanatory.

To illustrate this conversely, Marx contrasts it with what happens in the manufacturing industry thus: 'In manufacture the workman is not generally seen directly producing either his means of subsistence or surplus in excess

[31] Ibid.p.46

[32] Ibid. pp. 51-52 It should be carefully noted that this exchange of commodities does not take place outside the production process but *within* it. This should not be confused with the exchange of commodities in commerce or circulation *outside* what Marx calls direct production.

[33] Ibid.p.46

of his means of subsistence. The process is mediated through purchase and sale, through various acts of circulation, and the analysis of value in general is necessary for it to be understood.' [34] For reason of this contrast, when Marx says that the Physiocrats 'had not yet recognised the nature of value itself'[35], he means that, operating in the agricultural sphere of *production* and, therefore, outside the price mechanism, they could not yet see the nature of value in terms of the *value of labour-power* determined through a price mechanism that computes it 'in a sum of definite use-values.'

In spite of this inadequacy, that is, 'without being in any way clear as to the nature of value', Physiocrats conceive the *minimum of wages*, which Marx refers to as 'the value of labour-power', 'as it was necessary to their inquiry, as a definite magnitude.' [36] This minimum of wages, Marx holds, 'correctly forms the pivotal point of Physiocratic theory'; for, 'the foundation of modern political economy, whose business is the analysis of capitalist production, is the conception of the *value of labour-power* as something fixed, as a given magnitude – as indeed it is in practice in each particular case.' [37] The Physiocrats also conceive of 'this *minimum* as an unchangeable magnitude'[38] determined by nature.

Having said all this for the Physiocrats, Marx nevertheless proceeds to point out that after they finger out *agricultural labour* as the source of *surplus-value* they go on to contradict themselves by treating this *latter* as 'a gift of nature'. By their argument, the possibility of *surplus-value* (which *surplus-labour* makes available) 'arises from a given productivity of labour, a productivity which enables labour-power to create more than its own value, to produce more than the needs dictated by its life process. And indeed this productivity, this level of productivity which is presupposed as the starting-point, must first ... make its appearance in agricultural labour. It appears, therefore, as *a gift of nature*, *a productive power of nature*'.[39]

Hence, *surplus-value*, arising out of this productivity, is also *a gift of nature*. Marx puts this in the following way: '... the Physiocrats ... stuck to the point that the productivity of the earth enables the labourer, in his day's labour, which is assumed to be a fixed quantity, to produce more than he needs to consume in order to continue to exist. The surplus-value appears, therefore, as a gift of nature, through whose co-operation a definite quantity of organic matter – plant seeds, a number of animals – enables labour to transform more inorganic matter into organic'.[40] Thus, the realization of *surplus-value*, by the

[34] Ibid.p.46
[35] Ibid.p.45
[36] Ibid.p.45
[37] Ibid. p. 45
[38] Ibid. p. 45
[39] Ibid. p. 49
[40] Ibid. p. 51

terms of that theory, comes in the form of *a gift of nature* through 'the productivity of the earth' reflecting as the productivity of labour, as also in the form of appropriation of labour – a system contradiction.

***

What is the basis of this contradiction? Marx sees it in the *transition* from the feudal society to a capitalist society. He puts it thus: 'All these contradictions are contradictions of capitalist production as it works its way out of feudal society, and interprets feudal society in a *bourgeois way*, but it has not yet discovered its own peculiar form.'[41] Hence, 'surplus-value is explained again in a *feudal way*, as derived from nature and not from society'. [42] In this *transition*, the feudal landlord 'is in essence a capitalist ... He confronts the free labourer as an owner of commodities'[43]. Marx observes that 'In this respect too the Physiocratic system hits the mark'[44]; that is, it *also* becomes essentially capitalist. Caught in this *transition*, the Physiocrats become intellectually schizophrenic, so to say[45].

In their feudal explanation of *surplus-value* as derived from nature, 'from man's relation to the soil, not from his social relations'[46], the Physiocrats hold, therefore, that wealth is created *only* in agricultural production. Consequently, they see manufacturing industry as creating *nothing* but only transforming the products of agriculture into other forms. Transformation of this kind results in products that stand as *equivalents* to the products of agriculture and, therefore, adds nothing new to wealth *in general*. Marx puts it this way: 'Since industry [as the Physiocrats see it] creates nothing, but only transforms values given to it by agriculture into another form; since it adds no new value to them, but returns the values supplied to it, though in altered form, as an equivalent; it is naturally desirable that this transformation should proceed without interruptions and in the cheapest way'.[47]

Within the context of this reasoning and on the principle that only wealth is taxed, the Physiocrats consider that *rent*, as *surplus-value* derived from agricultural production, be taxed. Marx considers that by this taxation on rent 'landed property is in part confiscated'; this being the intention of the bourgeois French Revolution – an intention consummated in the fully developed Ricardian modern political economy.[48] This taxation of landed

[41] Ibid. p. 52 Italics added
[42] Ibid. p. 52 Italics added
[43] Ibid. p. 51
[44] Ibid. p. 51
[45] Ibid. p. 66 In fact, here, Marx later exposes the Physiocrats for real when he states that 'For all their sham pretences the Physiocrats were working hand in hand with the Encyclopaedists!' They are a feudal shell with a capitalist essence.
[46] Ibid. p. 52
[47] Ibid. p. 53
[48] Ibid. p. 52

property naturally goes in tandem with the acts that 'taxation and along with it all forms of State intervention, are removed from industry itself, and the latter is thus freed from all intervention by the State'.[49] For this reason, Marx asserts that 'in the conclusions which the Physiocrats themselves draw, the ostensible veneration of landed property becomes transformed into the economic negation of it and the affirmation of capitalist production'.[50]

In an even more forceful manner, Marx puts it as follows: 'The emancipation of bourgeois society from the absolute monarchy (feudalism) set up on the ruins of feudal society thus takes place only in the interests of the feudal landowner transformed into a capitalist and bent solely on enrichment. The capitalists are only capitalists in the interests of the landowner, just as political economy in its later development would have them be capitalists only in the interests of the working class'.[51] Reality is that Physiocrats end up casting the operative principles of capitalist production as natural laws, not just specific to capitalist production but also, abiding in all modes of production.[52]

In summary, Marx renders it all thus:

> [The Physiocratic system] is in fact the first system which analyses capitalist production, and presents the conditions within which capital produces, as eternal natural laws of production. On the other hand, it has rather the character of a bourgeois reproduction of the feudal system, of the dominion of landed property; and the industrial spheres within which capital first develops independently are presented as ''unproductive'' branches of labour, mere appendages of agriculture. The first condition for the development of capital is the separation of landed property from labour – the emergence of land, the primary condition of labour, as an independent force, a force in the hands of a separate class, confronting the free labourer. The Physiocrats therefore present the landowner as the true capitalist, that is, the appropriator of surplus-value. Feudalism is thus portrayed and explained from the viewpoint of bourgeois production; agriculture is treated as a branch of bourgeois production in which capitalist production – that is, the production of surplus-value – exclusively appears. While feudalism is thus made bourgeois, bourgeois society is given a feudal semblance.[53]

It is this complexity in the *transition* from the feudal to capitalist production that reflects as contradictions in the Physiocratic system. It is a situation in a state of flux whereby different images are presented to the observer. It explains why Marx concludes that 'it is understandable how the feudal

[49] Ibid. p. 52
[50] Ibid. p. 52
[51] Ibid. p. 53
[52] Ibid. p. 44
[53] Ibid. p. 50

semblance of this system, in the same way as the aristocratic tone of the Enlightenment, was bound to win a number of feudal lords as enthusiastic supporters and propagandists of a system which, in its essence, proclaimed the rise of the bourgeois system of production on the ruins of the feudal'. [54]

[54] Ibid. p. 53

CHAPTER FOUR

The Physiocrats: Realization Of Surplus-Value In Circulation

In this chapter, there is a discussion of the Physiocratic system at a deeper level. The concern here is to examine the advanced Physiocratic position that though *surplus-value* does not arise from circulation but from direct production *it is realized in circulation*. This examination takes us back to the consideration of the origin of *surplus-value* in Marx's elucidation and support of the interpretations outlined in the previous chapter of this manual.

For starters, Marx begins this section at page 54 with the exposition that the Physiocrat, Quesnay, identifies three classes in the nation. The first class is made up of agricultural labourers whom he considers as '*the productive class*' while the second class is constituted by landowners who are *appropriators of surplus-value*. The third class comprises all others offering services and non-agricultural labours; these are described as a '*sterile class*'.

In thus identifying the agricultural labourers, in the eyes of Quesnay, as the *only* productive class in society, Marx examines the views of Turgot in whom he sees the Physiocratic system as fully developed. Turgot's exposition starts with an agricultural labourer who is 'his own wage labourer'; that is, an independent cultivator[55] with his own 'conditions of labour' – which phrase is understood as the tools, land, etc. with which and on which labour works.

This independent cultivator produces what is over and above what is needed for his subsistence. He *appropriates* this *total* for himself. That total of his product is divided into two: the first is his wages (so that he appears as his own wage-labourer) and the second is the excess over the wages. In selling the total product at its value, he realizes *surplus-value*. This is because his labour pays for *only a part* of that value. He does not pay for *the other* he sells.

This *other* (the excess) is said to be *a gift of nature* – through the productivity of the soil which enables him to produce. It is *not offset* by an equivalent value as in the case of the first part where his wages are offset by his spent *labour-power* in compensation. For Turgot, therefore, the seller sells what he has not bought. [56] But the *surplus-value* that the cultivator realizes at the level of circulation still remains part of the *value* created at the level of production.

[55] Ibid. p. 55
[56] Ibid. p. 55

***

In passing, by virtue of the fact that the product is *not* sold *above* its value, the impression is given that, given the *fixed wages* within the Physiocratic system, price is not influenced by the force of *demand here*. That might come into play when the cultivator's *customer* (the entrepreneur) *resells* the product as in a pure commercial activity. Such a *service*, Quesnay might hold, is *sterile* in the sense that it does not add to the general wealth. This labour-type is not *productive* by definition and hence does not result in *surplus-value* creation.

Selling to the final consumer directly and immediately might in fact eliminate that entrepreneur and thus keep the price within the range of its *value* at the *level of production*. The question that requires to be answered, bearing in mind that the entrepreneur might employ *labour* to enable him provide the service, is whether their *gains* should be characterized as an *addition* to the creation of *surplus-value*, that is, *as surplus-value*. Physiocrats resist and reject such a temptation since they do not regard *these* labour-types *productive*.

In this regard, Marx's specific response in stating the Physiocrats' position is that 'In considering surplus-value it is necessary to turn from the sphere of circulation to the sphere of production. That is to say, to deduce surplus-value not simply from the exchange of commodity for commodity, but from exchange as it occurs *within* production, between the owners of the conditions of labour and the labourers themselves. These (two) confront each other as owners of commodities, and consequently there is no assumption here of production independent of exchange'; that is, exchange *within production*.[57]

There is a suggestion, however, in the phrase 'to deduce surplus-value *not simply* from the exchange of commodity for commodity' that *surplus-value* is deducible at the level of circulation; but only when 'concrete labour' and 'not abstract labour' is conceived 'as the substance of value' – as stated at page 48 thus:

> As agricultural labour thus forms the natural basis ... *not only for surplus-labour in its own sphere*, but also for the independent existence of all other branches of labour, *and therefore also for the surplus-value created in them*, it is clear that it was bound to be considered the creator of surplus-value, so long as the substance of value was regarded as definite, concrete labour, and not abstract labour with its measure, labour-time. (*Italics added.*)

We shall be back on this and its implications.

***

[57] Ibid. pp. 57-58

Away from that digression, Marx reports in a quote from Turgot that once the cultivator realizes his *surplus-value* 'he can ... buy the labour of other members of society'. In selling their labour to him, all that these *others* get is 'their livelihood'; while the cultivator 'gathers, beyond his subsistence, a wealth which is independent and disposable, *which he has not bought and which he sells'*.[58] He becomes 'the sole source of the riches' that circulate to animate all the labours of society[59].

At this point, Marx observes that with 'this ... conception we have, to begin with, the essence of surplus-value – that it is value realised in sale, without the seller having given an equivalent for it, without his having bought it. *Unpaid value*.' [60] This conception, so to say, locates *surplus-value* in the *labour activity* of the cultivator and those he employs or hires at *the level of production*. It is at the level of circulation or exchange, however, that this *surplus-value* becomes handy and, therefore, *realized* (as in contrast to 'created') in the sense of being transformed to be used in buying 'the labour of other members of society'.

***

Marx then goes on to point out a contradiction introduced in Turgot's second conception of *surplus-value* ('this excess over the wage labour') 'as a pure gift of nature'.[61] In his explanation of *surplus-value* as a pure gift of land, Turgot tells us that the first part of the product, *wages of labour*, 'includes the subsistence and the profits of the husbandman (the cultivator), which are the reward of his labour and the condition upon which he undertakes to cultivate the land of the proprietor.' The second part is described as 'that independent and disposable part which the land gives as pure gifts to him who cultivates it, over and above his advances and wages of his trouble.' It 'is the portion of the proprietor, or the revenue with which the latter can live without labour ...'[62]

This second part, which is the *surplus-value*, is clearly seen now as a *pure gift of nature* that the land gives 'to him ''who cultivates it''''. Marx understands this gift 'as the productive power of labour applied to land, a productive power which labour possesses through using the productive power of nature and which it thus derives from the land – but it derives it only as labour.' [63] This means that the productive power of labour is itself derived from the land's productive power: so that the *surplus-value*, resulting from the application of the productive power of labour, is, if we might put it this way, *ultimately* freely provided by the land which, therefore, *over* compensates labour.

[58] Ibid. p. 55
[59] Ibid. p. 55
[60] Ibid. p. 55
[61] Ibid. p. 55
[62] Ibid. p. 56
[63] Ibid. p. 57

This tedious effort to alienate or dissociate *surplus-value* from labour, which is said to be compensated for in *wages*, leaves the *surplus-value* in the hands of the landowner once the assumption of a proprietor who cultivates his own land is abandoned. Marx puts it simply thus: 'The nature of this surplus-value, of this pure gift of nature, (takes) clearer shape, when the premise of the proprietor who cultivates his land is abandoned and the two parts of the product, wages and surplus-value, accrue to different classes, the one to the wage-worker, the other to the landlord.' So that once this separation takes place and the landlord 'can live *without* labour', though he receives the *surplus-value* as 'revenue'[64], the *questionable* nature of his appropriation is manifest.

That is to say that if *surplus-value* is a pure gift of nature upon *application of the productive power of labour* and we have a landlord who *does not* apply his own productive power of labour, the question arises as to whence he lays hands on *surplus-value*? That is the severity of Turgot's contradiction in his conception of *surplus-value* as 'a pure gift of nature'. It amounts to nothing but a justification of 'the appropriation – without an equivalent – of another's labour'[65] on the part of the *landlord*. This is why Marx says that

> 'In the hands of the landowner, therefore, the surplus-value appears *no longer* as a ''gift of nature'', but as the appropriation – without an equivalent – of another's labour, which through the productivity of nature is enabled to produce means of sustenance in excess of its own needs, but which, *because it is wage-labour*, is restricted to appropriating for itself, out of the product of the labour, *only* ''what is necessary to procure him'' [i.e., the worker] ''his subsistence''.[66]

For this to happen it is required that the conditions of labour (as understood above and to be expanded on) are separated from labour-power on the basis that 'the land itself becomes the private property of one part of society, so that the other part is cut off from this objective condition for making use of its labour ... In this way, therefore, the relation between capital and wage-labour arises in agriculture itself. It first arises when a number people find themselves cut off from ownership of the conditions of labour – above all from the land – and have nothing to sell but their labour itself'. [67]

Turgot's own words are better quoted in full, as Marx provides at page 56, thus:

> ''In the early stages there was no need to distinguish the proprietor from the cultivator ... In this early time, as every industrious man

[64] Ibid. p. 56
[65] Ibid. p. 57
[66] Ibid. p. 57 Our italics
[67] Ibid. p. 56

> would find as much land as he wished, he could not be tempted *to work for others* ... But in the end all land found its master, and those who could not have properties had at first no other resource than that of *exchanging the labour of their arms*, in the employment of the stipendiary class" (i.e., the class of artisans, of all non-agricultural labourers) "for the superfluous portion of the produce of the cultivating proprietor".
>
> The cultivating proprietor with the considerable surplus which the land gave to his labour, could "pay men to cultivate his land; and for men who live on wages, it was as good to earn them in this business as in any other. *Thus ownership of land had to be separated from the labour of cultivation, and soon it was* ... The landowners began to shift the labour of cultivating the soil on to the wage-labourers".[68]

***

Hence, the question of land alienation and ownership lies at the base of this appropriation or exploitation of the labour-power of others – this being the source of agrarian crises afflicting African society with increase in minority land acquisition. It becomes incumbent on agricultural workers (the agrarian proletariat) to recover the land by means of a Democratic Revolution, utilizing legal spaces, to begin with, in anticipation of the inevitable armed struggle.

[68] Ibid. p. 56

CHAPTER FIVE

The Physiocrats: Agricultural Labour As The Animator Of All Other Social Labours

We notice in Chapter Four that, according to Turgot, the cultivator becomes 'the sole source of the riches, which, by their circulation, animate all the labours of the society, *because he is the only one whose labour produces over and above the wages of labour*'.[69] Here, this fundamental role of the cultivator in setting in motion (animating) all other labours of society is considered.

To facilitate our discussion it is vital that we see that in throwing off the chaff about 'gifts of nature', Marx considers that '*within the limits of agricultural labour*, the Physiocrats have a correct grasp of surplus-value; they see it as a product of the wage-labourer's labour, although they in turn conceive this labour in the concrete forms in which it appears in use-values'.[70]

In our consideration here, therefore, we concentrate on the premise that *surplus-value*, for the Physiocrats, is created in the production process *only*. This is also connected with the process of *capital formation*, according to the Physiocratic system, inasmuch as the cultivator's accumulation of *surplus-value* constitutes the basis for his ability to buy the labour of others in society.

***

Turgot does not see the *surplus-value* that the proprietor appropriates from the cultivator's labour in terms of the *labour-time* which the cultivator (now seen as the agricultural labourer) expends in supplying the product. He sees it rather as 'the *surplus of products* which the cultivator's labour supplies to the proprietor over and above his own wages'. [71] But Marx understands *this surplus of products* as 'only the embodiment of the amount of time which the (agricultural labourer) works *gratis* for the proprietor in addition to the time which he works for the reproduction of his wages.' [72]

To supply the surplus of products together with those for his subsistence, the labourer requires three things which constitute the *conditions of labour*: one, 'tools in advance'; two, 'a sufficient quantity of the materials upon which he has to labour'; and, three, 'it is necessary that he should subsist while waiting

[69] Ibid. p. 55
[70] Ibid. p. 57
[71] Ibid. p. 57
[72] Ibid. p. 57

for the sale of his finished goods'. [73] Marx refers to these conditions of labour also as 'advances to labour' as well as 'preconditions of the labour-process'. He quotes from Turgot saying that 'It is the land which ''has provided the first fund of advances prior to cultivation'; they 'are *originally* provided gratis by the land', he explains. [74]

This means that *prior* to the separation of the labourer 'from ownership of the conditions of labour – above all from the land' –[75] the *land* freely gives to him these preconditions of the labour process. Marx explains the Physiocratic position to the effect, however, that once that separation occurs, the advances to labour are provided by a third person; and once the third person appears in the equation those advances (conditions of labour) 'become *capital'*. [76] He quotes Turgot thus:

> '*When* a large part of the society had *only their arms to maintain them,* it was necessary that those who thus lived on wages should begin by having *something in advance*, either to procure the materials upon which to labour or to maintain them while waiting for the payment of their wages'. [77]

It is the proprietor or landowner who provides these advances which, 'in the price of his products he must recover (together with) a profit equal to what his money would have been worth to him if he had employed it in the purchase of an estate'. [78] Typically and consistent with the Physiocratic conception of *surplus-value* as use-values, Turgot defines these advances to labour ('capitals') 'as ''accumulated movable values'''. [79] Let's not forget that when a Physiocrat talks about 'value' he means 'use-value'.

In coming by these 'accumulated movable values' – 'capitals' – the proprietor yearly lays by his 'revenue ... without using it for the satisfaction of their wants'.[80] They are ultimately formed from *the land*. This is because although capital is formed by saving from the appropriation of the products of labour – that is, from profits – these profits themselves 'always come from the earth'. [81] For Turgot, 'it is evident the capitals come from the land just as much as the revenue does'.[82]

In other words, capitals 'are nothing but the accumulation of part of the values produced by the land that the proprietors of revenue, or those who share it

[73] Ibid. p. 58
[74] Ibid. p. 58
[75] Ibid. p. 56
[76] Ibid. p. 58
[77] Ibid. p. 58
[78] Ibid. pp. 58-59
[79] Ibid. p. 58
[80] Ibid. p. 59
[81] Ibid. p. 59
[82] Ibid. p. 59

with them, can lay by every year without using it for the satisfaction of their wants', according to Turgot at p.59. Capital is accumulated *unused* use-values.

With this capital, the landlord becomes the *salariant*, that is, the payer of wages; while *all* in other industries are *stipendiés*, that is, those who are paid wages or salaries. The stipendiary class is made up of 'capitalists', 'entrepreneurs', 'manufacturers' and 'simple workers' as well as 'agricultural entrepreneurs'. These first three are classified as the 'stipendiary industrial class' among whom the 'industrial entrepreneurs' share the same position with the 'agricultural entrepreneurs'. [83] All of the stipendiary class depends on the landlord. Let's see how they do that, according to Turgot.

The agricultural entrepreneur gets the landlord's 'permission ... to make use of his field for setting his enterprise on foot'. For this, that cultivator makes some payment to the landlord. [84] In this connection Marx writes that 'The capitalist exploitation of agriculture – ''leasing or letting of land'' – is ... described by Turgot as ''the most advantageous method of all, but it presupposes a land that is already rich'''.[85] The manufacturers are 'at first'[86] 'wage-labourers of the cultivating proprietor'. Those wage-labourers, who can only sell their labour because they can no longer produce commodities, receive the 'minimum of wages'.

That is how the landowner becomes the 'the sole source of the riches' that circulate to animate all the labours of society[87] - he being the owner of land out of which *surplus-value* and *capital* (the conditions of labour) emanate through the application of labour-power.

[83] Ibid. pp. 58 and 59
[84] Ibid. p. 59
[85] Ibid. p. 57
[86] Ibid. p. 56
[87] Ibid. p. 55

CHAPTER SIX

The Physiocrats: A Confusion Of Value With Material Substance

Capital, in the scheme of Physiocratic affairs, appears then as accumulated *unused* use-values. These use-values are in reference to *concrete* products or material substance, in other words. Marx sees here a confusion of *value* with *material substance*. In his labour theory of value, value is not conceived in terms of material substance but in terms of the *labour-time* used in the production of that concrete product. Consequently, *surplus-value* is conceived in terms of the *surplus-labour* expended over and above the *labour-time* needed to reproduce the *labour-power* used for the labourer's *subsistence*.

To determine how, according to Marx, the Physiocrats confuse *value* with *material substance* we need to textually find out what Marx means by *value*. In this regard, it is necessary to observe that throughout the chapter on 'The Physiocrats' we cannot find in a single statement what definition Marx renders of the concept. We can, however, thread scattered assertions criss-crossing the pages of that chapter to arrive at that definition. In this respect, we notice Marx's initial assertion that the Physiocrats 'have not yet reduced value in general to its simple substance – the quantity of labour or labour-time'(p.46).

Stating at page 51 with respect to the labourer that 'the value which he creates is, therefore, greater than the value of his labour-power; or the labour which he gives in return is greater than the quantity of labour which he receives in the form of wages', *Marx equates quantifiable labour* with *value*. The quote might be restated thus: the *value* which he creates is, therefore, greater than the value of his labour-power; *or* the *value* which he gives in return is greater than the *value* which he receives in the form of wages'. In the second half of the quote he replaces 'value' in the first half with 'the labour' and 'quantity of labour'.

By a prior observation on page 46 that the Physiocrats' 'general view of the nature of value, which to them is not a definite social mode of human activity (labour)', Marx suggests that the *labour* he is talking about is not just a particular type of human activity but also that it is *value*. *Value is measurable labour.* At page 48, he raises labour to the level of abstraction and asserts *labour-time* as 'its measure'. To underscore this *measurable* property of labour as value, he refers to 'the enlarged value arising from the use of this

labour-power' at page 51. Value is not expressed in terms of the amount of products but the *labour-time* expended in creating those products.

***

In Marx's own words at page 57 (adding our own italics), when Turgot talks about *surplus-value* 'what Turgot has in mind is not exchange-value as such, *the labour-time itself*, but the *surplus of products* which the cultivator's labour supplies to the proprietor over and above his own wages; which *surplus of products, however, is only the embodiment of the amount of time* which he works gratis for the proprietor in addition to the time which he works for the reproduction of his wages.' Here, Marx situates *exchange-value* within his conception of value as quantity of labour that is measurable by labour-time.

On the part of the Physiocrats, *exchange-value* is conceived as 'the purely *quantitative* relation of the use-values to each other' whereas Marx refers to 'exchange-value, which in the last resort comes down to labour-time'. The Physiocratic system sees the said relation as 'the excess of the use-values produced over those consumed'. See page 52. Marx, at page 60, sees in all this a Physiocratic equation of *value* with *material substance*; but he conceives value *abstractly* in terms of *labour-time*. Extracts from Ferdinando Paoletti are cited in illustration of this. Let us examine the extracts at page 60 forthwith.

Paoletti's conception of the concern of political economy, to begin with, sets the tone for reflection. He states that 'Political economy presupposes, and takes as the object of its investigation, material and real production, which is found only in agriculture, since this alone *multiplies* the substances and products which form wealth.'[88] In this we find an expression of prime concern with material substances and their increment in the production process. But these material substances have *value* only because men need them. Hence, he adds that 'Things receive value through the needs of men.' [89]

The statement accompanying this latter sees *value* or its increment in terms of the *products* ('outlays') of labour but not in *labour* itself, *labour-time*. He puts it in this manner of expression: 'therefore the value or the increase of value of commodities is *not the result of industrial labour*, but of the labourer's *outlays'*. Concerned that industrial labour, in contrast to agricultural labour, does not create value (*an addition to existing stock*), Paoletti interestingly illustrates:

> Give the cook a measure of peas, with which he is to prepare your dinner; he will put them on the table for you well cooked and well dished up, but *in the same quantity as he was given*, but on the other hand give the same quantity to the gardener for him to put into the

[88] Ibid. p. 60 Italics added
[89] Ibid. p. 60

> ground; he will return to you, when the right time has come, at least *fourfold the quantity* that he had been given. This is the true and only production. [90]

The focus is clearly on the *new quantity* of the *material substances* (the peas) or use-values. Value is then seen in terms of products or material substances but never in terms of *amount of labour* or *labour-time* expended in the production process. Marx considers this a confusion of value with material substance. For him, it is not the material products that are at stake in political economy but the labour expended in their production. It is from that labour expense that *surplus-value* and *capital* emerge and pile up.

[90] Ibid. p. 60 Italics added

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Physiocrats: Rent As The Only And General Form Of Surplus-Value

In our discussion, so far, we do not specifically raise the issue, within the Physiocratic system, of *surplus-value* being conceived therein as '*rent of land*'; which *rent* is thereby considered as 'the *only form of surplus-value*' (p.46) known to that system. We go into this question now to determine how *rent* is not only 'the only form of *surplus-value*' known to the Physiocrats but in fact 'the *general form of surplus-value*' (p.47) as well as, in Marx's own words, 'the true economic (and) legitimate source of accumulation' (p.61) – according to the Physiocratic system.

To begin with, we find an anonymous Physiocrat quoted at p.383 by Marx as talking about 'a surplus-produce called rent'. It is the cultivator who 'affords' it. The agricultural labour of this cultivator is said at p.47 to be 'the only labour that creates surplus-value' – where the latter is used as an equivalent with 'surplus-produce'. This is why at the same page *surplus-value* is also called *rent*. But since *this* surplus-value is asserted at p.46 as the 'only form of surplus-value which they (the Physiocrats) *know*', it is therein conceived as 'the general form of surplus-value'.

Thus, when Physiocrats talk about *surplus-value* they are talking about the *concrete* excess of *products* over those consumed in the agricultural labour-process. We need to remind ourselves that Physiocrats do not only see the manufacturer as capable of *only* transforming what agriculture offers him but also that the former creates no new or additional wealth as such. It is from the *surplus-value* accumulated in the agricultural labour-process that all other fields of industrial activity are activated and fed. From this fact is derived the conclusion that *true* and *legitimate* accumulation is *rent* paid to the landlord.

***

The Physiocrats' assertion of *rent* as 'the *general* form of surplus-value' tends to suggest their acknowledgement of *particular* forms of *surplus-value* from immediate non-agricultural sources. Certainly, in their view *only* agricultural labour adds to the total wealth within a country through the creation of new and additional *surplus-value*. Yes, *within a country*. But, *across* countries, manufacturing industry, through *trade*, also adds to the wealth of a country. Interestingly in this regard, the Physiocrats invoke the Mercantilist principle of 'profit upon alienation'. Let us look at that quite briefly in this section.

Referring to the anonymous English Physiocrat above, Marx says that 'The Physiocrats explain the profit of industry as profit upon alienation (that is, in the Mercantilist way). This Englishman, therefore, draws the right conclusion that this profit is only a gain when industrial commodities *are sold abroad*. From the Mercantilist premise he draws the right Mercantilist conclusion.' Let us remember, once again, that the Mercantilist system equates *surplus-value* with profit. Marx quotes these excerpts from the anonymous Physiocrat:

> No man, as a manufacturer, however he may gain himself, adds any thing to *the national revenue*, if his commodity is sold and consumed at home; for the buyer precisely loses ... what the manufacturer gains ... there is an interchange between the seller and the buyer, but no increase.
>
> To supply the want of a surplus ... the master-employer takes a profit of 50 per cent upon what he expends in wages, or sixpence in the shilling on each manufacturer's pay ... and if the manufacture is sold abroad ... [this] would be *the national profit*.[91]

In this quotation, Marx alerts us previously at p.383 that for the anonymous writer *surplus-value* 'is revenue'.

***

There is, however, *another internal* source for the generation of *surplus-value* to add to the nation's wealth, according to the Physiocratic system – 'the privation theory'. Although Marx says that apologists made this theory 'the basis for the formation of capital', it 'arose precisely from the Physiocratic view that *no surplus-value* is created in industry, etc.' According to the theory,

> The wealth of society can never in the smallest degree be *augmented* by artificers, manufacturers, or merchants, otherwise than by their *saving and accumulating part of what is intended for their daily subsistence*; consequently it is *by privation or parsimony alone*, that they can add any thing to the general stock.[92]

The immediate and apparent difficulty with this theoretical formulation lies precisely with its inconsistency with the understanding that the artificers, manufacturers and merchants respectively only transform and circulate what agriculture offers to them *without adding* to that by way of *increment*. Sure, *saving* on consumption does not *seem* to *add* to existing wealth though it does not reduce it either. But that is not to properly understand the Physiocratic position. We can better appreciate that position through the exposition of the *theory of savings* that the Physiocrat, Germain Garnier, provides at pp.63-64.

---

[91] Ibid. pp.383-384 Refer also to p.380 where Marx says that 'And here the Physiocrats necessarily fall back on the Mercantile system's *profit upon alienation*.'
[92] Ibid. pp.382-383

According to that exposition, the labour of artisans and manufacturers truly open 'no new source of wealth'; but by their engagement in 'advantageous exchanges (trading)' they could make profits by selling above the value of the product. Garnier calls this profit, in the manner of James Steuart, 'relative value'. It is the reward for their labour. And the artisan or manufacturer 'has the right to consume it and is presumed to consume'. In fact, 'it is only in consuming (it) that he can enjoy the fruits of his labour, and this enjoyment is all that in reality constitutes his reward.'

But the artisan or manufacturer might decide not to consume all of this reward and rather save some of it by self-denial (privation); else they might consume the whole of it as and when they receive it. In Garnier's long sentence, this is put thus: '... unless the workman curtails a part of the comforts to which he has the right in accordance with the current rate of wages assigned to his labour; unless the capitalist resigns himself to saving a part of the revenue which his capital brings him, both the one and the other will consume, in proportion as the piece of work is completed, the whole value resulting from his work.'

Such consumption leaves the total wealth of society *at the same level* as it was before the new production. But the savings made, if they are made, *add* to the old stock, so to speak, and thus raises that level. Garnier concludes: 'The labour of artisans and manufacturers, though only able to add to the general amount of the wealth of society *the savings* made by the wage-labourers and the capitalists, may well tend by *these means* to enrich society... Consequently it is correct to say that the agents of manufacture and commerce can only add to the total quantity of wealth existing in society by their privations alone'.

***

Historically speaking, therefore, the Physiocratic relocation of the discourse on *surplus-value* from the sphere of circulation to that of production proper *ultimately* amounts to *expansion* of the sphere of location from circulation *into* the sphere of production; that is, insofar as the concept of *relative value* is *retained* and *applied* in the creation of the *theory of savings* by the Physiocrats. This does not take away from the Physiocrats their *primary* location of *surplus-value* in production and differentiating between its production and transfer. Marx thus considers as 'the great merit of Physiocracy' that with it 'Production of surplus-value (is) to be clearly distinguished from its transfer'.[93]

[93] Ibid. p.383

CHAPTER EIGHT

Adam Smith: An Introduction

So far in our historical exploration of the evolution of the concept of *surplus-value*, we observe Marx's critical evaluation of historically antecedent views and constructions of it. In presenting those constructions and views, he shows their links and disconnects.

Hence, in considering Adam Smith's contributions to the evolution of the concept of *surplus-value* he begins with a search which reveals to him Adam Smith's retention of certain elements of Physiocracy despite Smith's own critique of it.

Within the chapter on 'The Physiocrats', therefore, he traces 'Elements of Physiocratic Theory in Adam Smith'.[94] In this brief introduction, we see Marx point at Smith's inheritance of

(i) the Physiocratic assertion of the *role* of 'gifts of nature' in agricultural production and their *absence* in the manufacturing industry, and
(ii) the theory of savings based on privations (self-denials).

***

Marx considers agriculture as one branch of industry. He credits *this* branch with being the *first* to make use of 'the forces of nature' on a large scale. The use of the forces of nature in the manufacturing industry comes to *attention* not from the *very beginning* of that industry, as it does in the agricultural industry, but at a later stage of its own development. Hence, at the initial stage of the development of manufacturing industry, which coincides with the period of Adam Smith's writing, Smith could not yet perceive the role that the forces of nature play therein. In this regard, David Ricardo stands at an advantage.

Ricardo, writing in a later period, Marx says, sees this defect in Adam Smith and reacts to the latter's claim that in the manufacturing industry 'nature does nothing'. Ricardo points to the role of wind, water, atmospheric pressure and heat in that industry. He does this 'from the standpoint of modern industry' where the use of the forces of nature becomes more prominent than before. In this regard, Marx says, Smith is not different from the Physiocrats who do not see the role of natural forces in manufacture and, therefore, hold that *surplus-value*, which they see as a product of *nature*, comes from agriculture *alone*.

[94] Ibid. pp.60-61

***

As 'partisans (or supporters) of large-scale capitalist agriculture',[95] the line of Physiocratic political economists is anxious to free manufacturing industry from tax burdens, which it regards as State interference, that might tell on the income of capitalists and, therefore, serve to discourage investment in that sphere of industry. In this respect, Physiocrats project agriculture, as noted, as the sole area of industry that produces *surplus-value* which, in the words of Adolphe Blanque, 'could be added to the mass of already existing wealth'[96] and that which he crowns 'sovereign creator and dispenser of all wealth'.[97]

Such *surplus-value* is also, if we remember, seen as 'rent of land' paid to the *landlord* and out of which all other payments are made to non-agricultural labour. According to Blanque, the products of all other industries (like those of manufacturers, merchants and workmen who are agriculture's *employees*) are 'only the *equivalent* of what they (such employees) had consumed during the task'[98] for their *subsistence*, that is, *just like the agricultural labourer*. This means that with the consumption of such products at the end of their work *these employees* of agriculture, *unlike that labourer*, leave 'the sum total of wealth ... absolutely (at) the same (level) as before'.[99] They add nothing to it.

But, this is not so if 'the workmen or the masters had placed in *reserve*, that is to say *saved*, what they had the right to consume'. That is, by their *self-denial* of the enjoyment of part of their *subsistence*, these other branches of industry augment (raise the level of) the existing wealth. This actually comes up as the Physiocratic theory of savings – savings by *self-denial* but not by *expropriation*. (Thus, logically, such a sacrificial act to increase social wealth is discouraged through taxation and other such State interferences. Only rent of land, which involves *no such sacrifices*, should, therefore, be taxed.)

Germain Garnier accordingly sees a similarity between this theory of savings and Adam Smith's understanding that 'industry would be practised in vain, the capital of a country would never grow larger, unless the economy augmented it by its savings' (Garnier's words); that is, where 'capital' stands in for 'wealth'. He concludes then that 'Smith is ... in full agreement with the Economists (i.e. Physiocrats)'.[100] On Marx's part, 'Garnier is ... quite correct in noting that Adam Smith's theory of accumulation through savings rests on this Physiocratic foundation.' How so, we see in the details provided forthwith.[101]

---

[95] Ibid. p. 64
[96] Ibid. p. 62
[97] Ibid
[98] Ibid
[99] Ibid
[100] Ibid. p. 64
[101] It is just sufficient to observe here Adam Smith's historical connection to the theoretical past. What is his contribution to the evolution of *surplus-value*?

CHAPTER NINE

Surplus-Value: Adam Smith's Extension Of It To All Spheres Of Social Labour I

The extension of the definition of *surplus-value* in Adam Smith could be seen to have been anticipated in Verri Pietro's early criticism of what Marx calls 'the Superstition of the Physiocrats in the Question of Agriculture'. In his critique of the Physiocrats, Verri questions the *scientific* basis of their claim that *surplus-value* could be generated *only* in agriculture. The Physiocratic assertion that manufacturing industry does not yield *surplus-value* but only transforms the produce of agriculture and, therefore, does not result in the *increase* or *quantity* of wealth is contested: *surplus-value* is created in both.

According to Verri, the work of both the agricultural labourer and the artisan is equally a *transformation* of matter – 'phenomena of the universe'. For him, such transformations of matter do not involve new creations or additions to what already exists. Talking about agriculture, he explains that just as industry uses raw materials in a process of transforming them into some product so does agriculture transform a combination of ingredients of the earth, water and the air (the source of certain nutrients and the sun which facilitates processes of photosynthesis) into, say, corn. That adds *nothing* to matter.

This apparent game of equalization has the effect of suggesting that *if* industry does not increase the wealth of the universe through its *transforming* activities *then* agriculture likewise does not increase the wealth of the universe through similar activities. Verri, however, does not mean to conclude that *no* wealth or value is created. He suggests the creation of wealth *both* in industry and in agriculture by pointing to the contrasting living standards of the agricultural labourer and the artisan or manufacturer. He talks about the 'newly-created value'[102] in the work of both the agricultural labourer and the artisan.

The reader might have difficulty in understanding what the reference to 'the *Superstition* of the Physiocrats' means in *Marx's title* of Verri's critique.[103] Certainly, Verri's text does not carry the word 'superstition'. It is *Marx's title* that describes the critique as a 'Critique of Superstition'. What is, therefore, superstitious about the Physiocrats' system that prompts Verri to provide a *scientific* analysis of the work of the agricultural labourer?

---

[102] Ibid. p. 68

[103] The following understanding is inspired by Murtala Numoh's contribution to the discussion of this issue at the Socialist Forum of Ghana's Marxist Study Group sessions held on June 6 and June 13, 2014 respectively.

Specifically, it all has to do with the Physiocratic attribution of *surplus-value*, being bestowed on man by the mythical hand of 'nature', as 'gifts of nature'. In their attribution of *surplus-value* as that which *nature* gives to the labourer over and above that which the latter consumes to reproduce their labour-power, the Physiocrats remove the ultimate *human* agency in the process of reproduction. It is not humans who create *surplus-value* but *nature* which does that through them. This resonates with the religious notion that events in human society are occasioned by some Spirit Beings through humans.

But, by Verri's critique of the Physiocratic position, agricultural produce occurs in a process of *human* activity whereby the elements of nature are utilized to produce new values. Present day agriculture is more explicit in the use of the elements of nature, like potassium and nitrogen, not only to produce fertilizer but also to *consciously* apply it to the soil in determined quantities for soil enrichment to promote increased yield on the farm. Farm produce in specific quantities is now *predictable* on the basis of applications to the soil. The idea of 'gifts of nature' is thus exposed as a dissolved myth.

***

In this and the next chapter, we focus on pages 69 to 86 of *Theories of Surplus-Value*. We find herein that with the mercantilist location of *surplus-value* in trade or exchange and the Physiocratic relocation of it in production, we have yet another development of it by which Adam Smith re-relocates it in *all* spheres of social labour. If the mercantilists locate *surplus-value* in *exchange* and the Physiocrats relocate it only in *rent of land*, Smith re-relocates it in the *rent* paid to the landlord *and* the *profit* of the capitalist. For him, interest and other incomes, like salaries paid from taxes, originate from rent or profit.

Strategically speaking, therefore, in Marx's analysis of Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* we might say that Marx sees *surplus-value* being located in *rent and profit* which are said to be *forms* of *surplus-value*. All other forms of *surplus-value*, as Smith takes notice of, are for him *derived* either from rent of land or profit. Hence, we find in Adam Smith what might be described as *primary surplus-value* and *secondary surplus-value*.[104] For Marx, then, 'Adam Smith conceives *surplus-value* ... as the *general category*, of which profit ... and rent ... are merely branches'.[105]

***

Let us begin with Smith's definition of *value*. Marx, in fact, finds *two* definitions in Adam Smith. These definitions are better understood when we have a clear understanding of the concepts of 'living labour' and 'materialized labour'. The

[104] Ibid. p.83-84
[105] Ibid. p.82

first, living labour, refers to that labour-power which is yet to be used in the process of production. The second, materialized labour, refers to the *product* realized through the application of living labour in the process of production. This latter is also expressed and understood as the transformation of living labour into a product or, what is the same thing, into materialized labour.

There is, therefore, a difference between living and materialized labours. In Marx's opening quotation from Adam Smith, materialized labour is also seen as 'wages'. This is just a reference to the *product*; another name for it during the period when the entire produce of labourers belongs to them. At page 70, Marx talks of '"wages", taken here as equal to the product of labour, on the hypothesis that the product of labour (or the value of this product) belongs to the labourer himself.' But this meaning of 'wages' changes when the entire product is *shared* and what part goes to the labourer is referred to as such.

***

With the explanation of these initial concepts made, we now consider Adam Smith's first definition of value. According to that first definition, value is that quantity (level or amount) of living labour (labour-power) required for the production of commodities;[106] in other words, the amount of living labour needed to be materialized as a product. Marx definitively says elsewhere, however, that 'Smith treats the quantity of labour contained in the product as value and determining value'.[107] So that with Smith, in the *production* process the product is a container of some specific amount of *expended* labour-power (living labour). That amount determines *value*.

Perhaps, it is to emphasize the *labour content* in the determination of value that Adam Smith introduces this bit about 'improvements in (labour's) productive powers'. [108] He explains that with such improvements a smaller quantity of labour is required for the reproduction of a thing – the division of labour being the cause of such improvements. For him, the smaller quantity of labour expended means a *reduction* in the value of the product which then occasions a reduction in its price leading to that product becoming *cheaper*. Such improvements (or development) of labour-power, however, occur only with the 'conditions of labour' being alienated (separated) from labour. [109]

Before the labourer lost their hold on the 'conditions of labour' (i.e. land and capital) the *entire* product of their labour belonged to them. This means that they realized the *full* value of their expended labour-power. In other words, the realized product was equivalent to their labour-power expended in the

[106] Ibid. p.70
[107] Ibid. p.71
[108] Ibid. p.69
[109] Ibid. p.69-70

production process. Adam Smith puts it this way: 'The produce of labour constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labour. In that original state of things, which precedes both the *appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock*, the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer.' [110]

In this first definition of value, whereby the amount of expended labour-power determines value, there is no reference to *exchange*. The discussion is in the realm of *production* only. The labourer does not exchange their labour-power for anybody's payment of wages to them. What exchange takes place is only *after* the production process has ended and the *product* is exchanged for some *other* product with equal value; that is, for an equal amount of labour-power expended in the latter's production. This definition of value still holds even when the product has to be shared and is shared with others.

***

The second definition relates exclusively to the era when the labourer is *separated* from the conditions of labour (i.e. land and capital) and must have to *sell* their labour-power in order to make a living. In this instance, Marx says that Adam Smith defines value as the quantity (amount) of living labour that is *bought* with commodities[111]. This suggests that an *exchange* takes place *within* the production process: an exchange involving *living labour* and previously *materialized labour* (for, commodities are here nothing but materialized labour). And, here, therefore, it is the *exchange-value* of labour that rules.

Indeed, Marx states that 'Here (Smith) makes *exchange-value* of labour the measure for the value of the commodities'. [112] In the next sentence on the same page, Marx adds that 'In fact, he makes *wages* the measure; for wages are equal to the quantity of commodities bought with a definite quantity of living labour, or to the quantity of labour that can be bought by a definite quantity of commodities.' Hence, unlike the first definition where the *quantity* of labour is the measure of value, in this other definition of value it is the *value* of labour[113] in the process of exchange that is the measure for determining *value*.

Marx is curious about this new idea of *value* determining *value*. He describes it as a *vicious circle* when he states that 'Here value is made the measuring rod and the basis for the explanation of value – so we have a vicious circle'. [114] As a vicious circle, he might mean that, we have a *regress* whereby the question is constantly raised: which value determines the original value and so on continually backwards? The additional problem that this raises for Marx is

[110] Ibid. p.69
[111] Ibid. p.70
[112] Ibid. p.70
[113] Do not forget that here 'value of labour' is the *same* as 'wages of labour' and *means* the same.
[114] Ibid. p.71 Current English usage talks of 'vicious cycle' but not 'vicious circle'. Musa Numoh called our attention to this.

when Smith, according to him, 'sometimes confuses, and at other times substitutes' the first definition with the second one just considered. [115]

He calls all these confusions and substitutions 'this vacillation and this jumbling up of completely heterogeneous determinations of value'. He then contends that it is wrong, *in a mode of production where the material conditions of labour are separated from labour-power and, therefore, respectively belong to different classes opposed to each other*, 'to make ... the value of labour the measure of value, in the same sense in which labour-time or labour itself is the measure of value and the value-creating element'. [116] That is, Marx objects to the second definition of value being applied *in a class society* and substituted with the first definition. The two should not be confused.

Marx spends some time to explain his objection.[117] In his effort, he is primarily concerned with showing that what is meant by 'quantity of labour' is different from what is meant by 'value of labour' and that they are not *necessarily* identical. In a situation where the labourer appropriates the *entire* product of their labour the identity of the 'quantity of labour' with the 'value of labour' (or 'wages of labour') *could* be upheld. This is how he puts it at p.72:

> On this assumption {that the labourer appropriates the entire product of their labour} the value of labour (the quantity of commodities which can be bought with a given quantity of labour, or the quantity of labour which can be bought with a given quantity [of commodities]) could serve as the measure of the value of a commodity just as well as the quantity of labour contained in it, since the value of labour always represents the same quantity of materialised labour as the living labour require(d) for the production of this commodity; in other words, a definite quantity of living labour-time would always command {that is, buy} a quantity of commodities which represents an equal amount of materialized labour-time.

Against this assumption, Marx explains further: 'But in all modes of production – and particularly in the capitalist mode of production – in which the material conditions of labour belong to one or several classes, while on the other hand nothing but labour-power belongs to another class, the working class, what takes place is the *opposite*. The product or value of the product of labour does not belong to the labourer. A definite quantity of living labour does not command {that is, buy} the same quantity of materialised labour, or a definite quantity of labour materialised in a commodity commands {that is, buys} a greater quantity of living labour than is contained in the commodity itself.'

[115] Ibid. p.71
[116] Ibid. p.73
[117] Ibid. pp. 71 to 73

In this other statement, Marx is saying that whereas in the first assumption the labourer owns the *entire* produce of their labour so that their living-labour is directly proportional to their materialized labour, in this second assumption the labourer does not own the produce at all – it now belongs to somebody else. An opposite situation arises. A given quantity of living-labour no longer buys a quantity of another commodity which latter is *equal* to the quantity of the commodity that this living-labour produces. This latter quantity, we know, represents the materialized labour of the labourer with that living-labour.

This means that materialized labour is now exchanged for a *greater* quantity of living-labour. Hence, 'quantity of labour' (or living-labour) is no longer *identical* with 'value of labour' (or materialized labour) one of which can now be *greater* than the other. *Identicals* do not behave like that. Do they?

***

Marx holds, however, that, despite these vacillations and jumbling, in Adam Smith's investigations into the nature and origin of *surplus-value* 'he keeps firmly to the correct determination of the exchange-value of commodities – that is, its determination by the quantity of labour or the labour-time expended on them'.[118] We might here observe, in passing, that Marx maintains that in the definition of exchange-value the *quantity of labour* (which is the same as the labour-time expended on the production of commodities) remains the measuring rod (as in the case of the first definition of value).

Hence, we can see that in his critique of Adam Smith, Marx focuses on what he considers to be Smith's *positive* contribution to the development of the concept of *surplus-value* and discards those he finds to be uncharacteristic of him; that is, those he fines to be contradictory to his correct line of thought. We find this trait at page 70 where he states that

> Adam Smith is very copiously infected with the conceptions of the Physiocrats, and often whole strata run through his work which belong to the Physiocrats and are in complete contradiction with the views specifically advanced by him. This is so, for example, in the theory of rent, etc. For our present purpose we can completely disregard these passages in his writings, which are not characteristic of himself, but in which he is a mere Physiocrat.

***

Having likewise disregarded Adam Smith's second definition of value, Marx links the first definition to Smith's determination of *surplus-value* in the statement that in Adam Smith's 'exposition of *surplus-value in general* ... he keeps consistently to the correct determination of value by the labour-time

[118] Ibid. p.71

expended in different commodities.'[119] Let us now follow that exposition and its details in the next chapter.

[119] Ibid. pp.74-75

CHAPTER TEN

Surplus-Value: Adam Smith's Extension Of It To All Spheres Of Social Labour II

According to Marx, there are two cases in the determination of *surplus-value* that 'must not be lumped together'[120]. In the first, *equivalents* are exchanged. In the second, *non-equivalents* are exchanged. The distinguishing element in the difference is the alienation of land and capital from the labourer: whereas in the period of the labourer owning their own land and capital exchange takes place between commodities with *equivalent* values, in the later period of the labourer owning *only* their *labour-power* while the land and capital belong to someone *else*, the capitalist, there is an exchange of *non-equivalents*.

It is necessary, before we proceed, that we look at the definition of *exchange-value* a little further in detail. At least at two different pages, Marx refers to 'the proportion in which (commodities) exchange for one another, or their *exchange-value*' (p.78) and 'the proportion in which commodities exchange for each other, or their exchange-value' (p.79). Exchange-value is, therefore, expressed as the *proportion* by which one commodity is exchanged for another commodity. At page 78, he says that this *proportion* is determined by 'the labour-time necessary to produce different commodities'.

In these references, we observe that, within context, the terms 'exchange-value' and 'proportion' are used *interchangeably*. This is made clearer when a few lines after the immediate citation above, Marx says that 'the exchange-value of the commodities is determined by the labour-time or quantity of labour they contain'. In place of 'proportion' we now have 'exchange-value' with the rest of the statement virtually remaining intact. We, therefore, have with us two statements which are equivalent in the sense that they carry the *same* meaning. Effectively, therefore, exchange is all about *quantity of labour*.

***

Despite Marx's critique of Adam Smith in various ways he credits Smith with having 'recognised the true origin of surplus-value'.[121] He attributes this to Smith's derivation of profit from the process whereby the living labour of the workman (labourer) performs labour in excess of what is paid for that living labour. This is the same way of saying that materialized labour (in the hands of

[120] Ibid. p.80
[121] Ibid. p.80

the capitalist) exchanges for *more* living labour (in the hands of the labourer) than its (materialized labour's) equivalent (in terms of living labour). It is this *exchange* of *non-equivalents* that serves as the source (*origin*) of *surplus-value*.

It must not be forgotten that we are here talking about exchange *within* the process of *production*. Marx goes to great lengths to make this clear when he shows that Adam Smith's 'profit' does not mean what James Steuart means by 'profit upon alienation'. According to Marx, 'Adam Smith explicitly states: the profit which is made on the sale of the complete manufacture originates not from *the sale* itself, not from the sale of the commodity *above* its value, is not profit upon alienation'.[122] It is the profit that results from part of the labour's performance being *unpaid for* by the capitalist. Marx explains this latter.

He says that 'The value, that is, the quantity of labour which the workmen add to the material, falls rather into two parts. One pays their wages or is paid for through their wages. By this transaction the workmen give in return only as much labour as they received in the form of wages'. That is to say that the first part of labour's performance is *equivalent* to the wages paid to them. Marx then continues: 'The other part forms the profit of the capitalist, that is, it is a quantity of labour which he sells without having paid for it.'[123] Here, the second part of the performance is an *extra* that the capitalist does not pay for but sells.

The said sale of the extra (as materialized labour or commodity) represents the *realization* of the profit *when the commodity is sold at its value*, which value is *equivalent* to what is *unpaid* to the labourer; that is, *without* this involving its being sold *above* its value and, therefore, without the profit being a 'profit upon alienation' or any part of it being so. What we, therefore, have at hand is the appropriation, *within the production process*, of part of the labour performed by the labourer. By 'appropriation' is meant what the dictionary states to be 'the action of taking something, especially when you have no right to take it.'[124]

***

This appropriation, in Adam Smith's terms, is not restricted to the agricultural industry. It covers the manufacturing industry as well. It, therefore, prevails in the capitalist mode of production *as a whole*. Marx expresses this simply thus: '*Like* industrial profit proper, rent of land is only a part of the labour which is added by the labourer to the materials and *which he gives up*, hands over to the owner of the land without being paid for it ...'[125] Such an extension of the

[122] Ibid. p.79
[123] Ibid. p.79
[124] Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (International Student Edition)
[125] Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, p. 82

notion of *surplus-value* creation *from* Physiocratic restriction of it in agriculture *to* all spheres of capitalist production is Adam Smith's seminal contribution to the development of political economy.

Marx is, however, critical of Smith's consideration of *surplus-value* being made up of profit and rent of land as its branches *and leaving it there*. He is anxious to see that while Smith conceives *surplus-value* as a *general category* with profit and rent of land as *forms* of it he (Smith) also treats *surplus-value* (being a general category) as *distinct* from the *specific forms* of its existence in profit and rent of land. Adam Smith does not distinguish it as a category 'on its own',[126] he says. Marx contends that that constitutes an inadequacy in Smith's work and 'the source of much error'[127] therein. How does it?

To determine that let us observe that Marx sees in Adam Smith *further forms* of surplus-value which he describes as 'secondary'[128]. With Smith, such other forms, like *interest on capital*, are 'derivative': they are derived (as secondary categories) from either profit or rent of land.[129] In other words, they are *not surplus-value*;[130] they are not *immediate* appropriations from expended labour-time (*surplus-value*). They are *parts* of either profit or rent of land which are *immediate* appropriations from *surplus-labour*. They are *distributed* portions of either profit or rent of land; but not *new creations* of *surplus-value*.

From the foregoing, it is very important that the distinction between *surplus-value* as a general category and its forms in profit and rent of land be kept in mind religiously. So also should the secondary forms in interest and incomes paid from taxes be distinguished from profit and rent of land. In other words, *surplus-value* and its primary as well as secondary forms – all three – should each be *analytically* separated from the other: separate *surplus-value* as the *general category*; separate profit and rent of land as the *primary categories* or branches of *surplus-value*; and, finally, separate interest and other incomes as *secondary categories*. Attention to such details forestalls possible errors.

In his critique of Adam Smith, Marx suggests that the former is not attentive to such details although he marks them out. Smith commits his advertised errors through such negligence. Hence, at p. 86 Marx advertises his subsequent examination of 'Adam Smith's confusion of surplus-value with profit' and 'how he makes rent and profit *sources of value*'. Of course, those are false steps on

[126] Ibid. p. 82
[127] Ibid
[128] Ibid. p. 83
[129] Ibid. p. 84
[130] Marx pointedly states at p. 83 that interest 'in no way constitutes surplus-value, but is merely a different distribution of existing wealth, vibration of the balance of wealth between parties, as in profit upon alienation'. At p. 84 he states further that 'Adam Smith observes that in the same way all incomes of persons who live on the proceeds of taxes are paid either from wages, and are therefore a deduction from wages themselves; or have their source in profit and rent, thus representing claims whereby various social strata share in the consumption of profit and rent, which are nothing but different forms of surplus-value'.

Adam Smith's part; that is, given the distinctions made above suggesting that value emanates from the materialization of living labour and that *surplus-value* represents the appropriation of part of this value (without payment for it).

***

We are tempted to sum up these last two chapters with Marx's own summary at p. 85 thus:

> We see the great advance made by Adam Smith beyond the Physiocrats in the analysis of surplus-value and hence capital. In their view, it is only one definite kind of concrete labour – agricultural labour – that creates surplus-value. therefore what they examine is the use-value of labour, not labour-time, general social labour, which is the sole source of value.
>
> In this special kind of labour, however, it is *nature*, the land, which in fact creates surplus-value, consisting in an increase of (organic) matter – the excess of the matter produced over the matter consumed. They see it, however, still in quite a restricted form and therefore distorted by fantastic ideas.
>
> But to Adam Smith, it is general social labour – no matter in what use-value it manifests itself – the mere quantity of necessary labour, which creates value. Surplus-value, whether it takes the form of profit, rent, or the secondary form of interest, is nothing but a part of this labour, appropriated by the owners of the material conditions of labour in the exchange with living labour.
>
> For the Physiocrats, therefore, surplus-value appears only in the form of rent of land. For Adam Smith, rent, profit and interest are only different forms of surplus-value. (*Paragraph altered into paragraphs here.*)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Surplus-Value: Marx's Critique Of Adam Smith I

Marx credits Adam Smith with the 'great merit' that he *feels* the emergence of some *flaw* in the law of value. This feeling occurs when Adam Smith goes beyond the simple exchange of commodities to the exchange between materialized labour and living labour (that is, capital and wage-labour). In other words, that is when Smith traces the origin of surplus-value. In Marx's view, Adam Smith is *perplexed* by what he finds: the realization that the law of value turns into its opposite under capitalist production whereby rather than equivalents being exchanged, non-equivalents are exchanged.

This realization, according to Marx, Adam Smith stresses and it constitutes his 'theoretical strength'. But that same realization weakens Smith's *confidence* in the *law of value* to such an extent that he is uncertain about its validity even in its application to simple commodity exchange. Marx attributes Smith's trouble to his missing the point that under capitalist production labour-power turns into a *commodity* and that as a commodity it has a use-value; this use-value, in the case of *this* commodity, is its energy (capacity) for exchange-value creation. Marx sees this as 'the specific development' of the law of value.

Hence, while Adam Smith is credited with the realization of this *change* in the law of value *under the capitalist mode of production* Marx asserts that 'it is at the same time this deep insight of Adam Smith's that makes him irresolute and uncertain' and thus 'prevents him ... from reaching a consistent and comprehensive theoretical view of the abstract, general foundations of the bourgeois system'.[131] He (Smith) does not see the change as a *development* of the law of value but perplexingly as a *reversal*[132] of it to the opposite direction. Marx steadily calls this a 'contradiction'. For him, it can only be a 'dialectical contradiction' by which an *antithesis* emerges – the law is thus *not* reversed.

In this chapter, we explore Marx's critique of Adam Smith in the light of the latter's perplexity or difficulty in coming to terms with the *development* of the law of value; which development constitutes the foundation of the capitalist mode of production, the bourgeois system. It is an outline of what Marx considers as Adam Smith's confusion of the stated categories of *surplus-value*.

---

[131] Ibid. pp. 87-88

[132] The specific word Marx uses at p. 87 is 'suspended'; but the entire sentence in which it occurs renders the use of 'reversal' a valid equivalent. The said sentence runs thus: 'He (Adam Smith) senses that ... in the actual result the law is suspended: more labour is exchanged for less labour (from the labourer's standpoint), less labour is exchanged for more labour (from the capitalist's standpoint).' This *reverses* the law from the exchange of *equivalents* to the exchange of *non-equivalents*.

***

At Chapter III Section 4 of the *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Marx does not only state the nature of the development of the law of value, as indicated above, but also explains *surplus-value* as 'the source of profit'.[133] That is a precursor to his critique of Adam Smith's *identification* of *surplus-value* with *profit* in Section 5. In this initial move, Marx looks at the labourer not as a labourer but as a buyer of commodities; that is, like anyone else with money to buy or exchange with commodities. The money in the labourer's hands is their wages. In money, wages are the commodity metamorphosed as exchange-value and, therefore, assume an *independent form* for commodity exchanges.

At a deeper level, wages, as the capitalist's payment for the temporary disposal of the labourer's labour-power, is not immediately in the form of a commodity. It is materialized labour-time in general; that is, labour-time expended in the production of *all* types of commodity. It represents that part of labour-time which the capitalist pays for but excludes the part that is unpaid for when labour-power is exercised over a specific period of time. Since the wages (money), and, therefore, the labour-time, paid for by the capitalist falls short of their *entire* labour-time expended in the product to give the latter its value, that value is necessarily higher than the value of the wages.

This occurrence means that when the labourer buys the commodity from the seller they must have to pay *more* for it. That is, if it is assumed that the commodity is sold at its value; which value is equivalent to the *entire* labour-time expended in creating the product. Mind you, the wages represent only a part of this value contained in the product or commodity. The implication here is that when the labourer *pays* for or *buys* the commodity they effectively 'give a higher value than the value of the sum of money that forms (their) wages'[134]

The question arising is: in buying the commodity at its *full* value where does the labourer get the *extra amount* to *supplement* his wages which fall below the value of the commodity? Certainly, that *extra* does not come from the *same source* of the wages (that is, in the process of producing *that same* commodity) but from *other* wages earned in the process of the production of some *other* commodity. The wages earned from that *other* source also represent another quantity of labour. In their purchase, therefore, the labourer gives up more surplus-labour in addition to the one already given up on the commodity.

Let us illustrate this with simple figures: Labourer Hamza is hired to produce commodity 'A'. He is paid two Kenyan shillings. The full value of what he produces is three shillings. His employer, the capitalist, appropriates the one shilling difference by selling the commodity at three shillings. Hamza goes to

[133] Ibid. p. 86
[134] Ibid. pp. 86-87

the market, like anybody else, to buy that commodity 'A'. He has to pay three shillings for it. But he has only the two shillings paid to him as his wages. To get commodity 'A', therefore, he works to produce commodity 'B'. From the new wages he adds one shilling to the previous wages to get commodity 'A'.

These processes mean that Hamza does not only give up one shilling in the first process of producing commodity 'A' but also *another* one shilling in the second process of producing commodity 'B'. Thus, with respect to commodity 'A' alone he has actually expended four shillings equivalent of his labour-power. But the value of commodity 'A' is three shillings. The one shilling difference goes to the seller. In other words, Hamza has given up yet another one shilling equivalent of his labour-power. Spending this one shilling extra to get commodity 'A' he effectively gives up its equivalent as *free surplus-labour*.

That free surplus-labour (labour-time) or one shilling is the seller's appropriated *surplus-value*. It results from the surplus-labour provided in the production of at least *two* commodities. That surplus-labour is *surplus-value*. It is not, however, a *surplus-value* appropriated from *one* commodity. That is why it is called *general surplus-value*. The seller's *surplus-value*, being *derived* from this *surplus-value* as a general category, goes by the special name *profit*. Being *derived* from *surplus-value in general*, profit is thus not only a particular *form* of *surplus-value* but also has its *source* in *general surplus-value*.

Hence, *surplus-value* is not conceived as an equivalent to or interchangeable with profit. Profit has its *source* in *surplus-value in general* or, simply, *surplus-value*. A source and what comes from it cannot be *identical*. To confuse *profit* with *surplus-value* is to confuse the particular with the general. That is what Marx criticizes Adam Smith for. And this is how he puts it:

> ... Adam Smith explains *surplus-value* in general, of which the rent of land and profit are only different forms and component parts ... Because Adam makes what is in substance an analysis of surplus-value, but does not present it explicitly in the form of a definite category, distinct from its special forms, he subsequently mixes it up directly with the further developed form, profit.[135]

***

How this mixing-up occurs and manifests is our immediate concern. In this regard, we make haste to call attention to the reference in the extracts above to *profit* as a '*further developed form*' of *surplus-value*. The semantics of that reference alone could determine the issue for us; but that statement remains as a mere *assertion* which still requires justification in the analytico-historical

[135] Ibid. p. 89

details regarding the evolution of *profit* as a further development of *surplus-value*. This section addresses our concern.

Within the capitalist mode of production, according to Marx, Adam Smith sees the capitalist as the owner of the means of production, the raw materials and the wages to be made available (advanced) to the labourer for the production of commodities. These three items constitute *capital* in the hands of the capitalist. Among the three, Smith says, *surplus-value* is appropriated from the quantity of labour bought with the *wage* component which does not actually pay for that quantity in *its entirety*. It arises *exclusively* from the unpaid part of that quantity – that is, the additional labour which *the* paid wage does not cover. This is *direct* appropriation.

Of course, the appropriation of *surplus-value* as a quantity of labour over and above the quantity of labour paid for it in its equivalent wages identifies *surplus-value* as a *general category*. As a general category it covers *any* direct appropriation of labour, be it in agriculture or the manufacturing industry. It appears as an abstraction. But *surplus-value* as an appropriation in a *particular* industry, be it agriculture or manufacturing, assumes a form *peculiar* to that industry in the *manner* of its appropriation (*according to its own law*) and goes by the special name of *rent of land* or *profit* respectively. There it is *indirect*. In our discussion of profit above, involving the legendary Hamza, this is clear.

If, therefore, among the three components of capital only *wages* are directly involved in the creation of *surplus-value* – for, according to the text, the other items have 'nothing directly to do with the creation of surplus-value' – in the case of *profit* creation *all the three* are involved. Adam Smith, according to Marx, holds that in respect of profit 'surplus-value is calculated on the total amount of capital advanced'.[136] Apart from these three items, Marx observes that this calculation is complicated by the fact that factors *external* to the particular unit of industry, such as competition from other units that tends to suppress profit levels to the same (general) level, also play a role. Here, rather than *labour* Smith sees *capital* as the source of *surplus-value* creation.

Adam Smith illustrates this latter with figures as follows at p. 91. He is quoted as stating there that profits 'are regulated altogether by the value of stock (capital) employed, and are greater or smaller in proportion to the extent of this stock.' That is to say that the amount of profit made is determined by the amount of capital made available to labour. His explanation assumes two units of production each of which has twenty labourers (workmen) who are paid £15 each annually. This adds up to £300 payment of wages in each unit a year. He assumes further that in the first unit the raw material type worked on costs

[136] Ibid. p. 89

£700 while in the second unit it costs £7,000. Thus in the first unit the total capital outlay amounts to £1,000 while in the second it is £7,300.

Adam Smith then supposes the annual rate of profit in each unit to be 10%. This suggests that at the first unit the annual profit will be only £100 whereas in the second unit it will be £730. For him, therefore, although the amount of labour used in both units *is the same or nearly the same* there is a difference in the amounts of profit made between the two units. Here is where he sees the difference as arising from the different amounts of capital outlay in the two units of production. Hence, for him, the profit arises from the total amount of *capital* made available – here, the total amount of wages and raw material.

It should be instructive to observe that what is calculated here is the *general* rate of profit in accordance with the *law of profit* by which profit 'is in proportion to the magnitude of the capital advanced'[137]. This means that having previously derived *surplus-value* from a quantity of labour as *surplus-value* in its general form Adam Smith now arrives at *surplus-value* in the form of profit *also* as a *general category*. In Marx's own words at p. 89 this is 'where he (Adam Smith) is thinking of (profit) as (a form) of surplus-value in general, (that is, direct) *deductions* from the labour bestowed by the labourers upon the materials'[138] – something he has no right to do. This is a mix-up.

Marx is furious that Adam Smith does not see in the example of the two units of production (the manufactories) that the operative *law of profit* therein is in contradiction of the *law of surplus-value* – that in that example, where labour in its quantity is the *same* in each unit, the *surplus-value* (which Smith identifies with profit) is *different* contrary to the latter law where the same quantity of labour produces the same amount of *surplus-value*. He says that unmindful of this contradiction, Adam Smith, 'with quite naïve thoughtlessness' (p.92), makes the identification of *surplus-value* with profit; without taking notice, that is, that they are respectively determined by *different* laws.

So far as Marx is concerned, and as we also see in our discussion involving Hamza above, profit is determined by a law *different* from that which determines *surplus-value* in general. Smith's jumbling up of the two – *surplus-value* and *profit* – tends to identify the general abstract form with its particular form. Marx comments that 'As Adam Smith resolves surplus-value not only into profit but also into rent of land – *two particular kinds of surplus-value, whose movement is determined by quite different laws* – he should certainly

[137] Ibid. p. 92

[138] Hence, at p. 91, Marx states that 'From surplus-value in its general form we come to a general rate of profit, which has nothing directly to do with it.'

have seen from this that he ought not to treat general abstract form as directly identical with any of its particular forms.' (Our italics. See p. 92)

***

Once again we are tempted to quote Marx in summary thus:

> ... Adam Smith explains *surplus-value* in general, of which the rent of land and profit are only different forms and component parts. As he presents it, the part of capital which consists of raw material and means of production has nothing directly to do with the creation of surplus-value. The latter arises exclusively from the additional quantity of labour which the labourer gives *over and above* the part of his labour which forms only the equivalent for his wages.
>
> Therefore it is only that part of the capital advanced which consists in wages from which surplus-value directly arises, since it is the only part of capital which not only reproduces itself but produces an overplus. In profit, on the other hand, the surplus-value is calculated on the total amount of capital advanced, and besides this modification other new complications arise through the equalisation of profits in the various spheres of capital.
>
> Because Adam makes what is in substance an analysis of surplus-value, but does not present it explicitly in the form of a definite category, distinct from its special forms, he subsequently mixes it up directly with the further developed form, profit.[139] (Paragraphs altered)

[139] Ibid. p. 89

CHAPTER TWELVE

Surplus-Value: Marx's Critique Of Adam Smith II

In the previous chapter, we are concerned with differentiating the *general* and *particular* forms of *surplus-value* and how they relate without questioning Adam Smith's view of the particular forms as *sources of value*. These other forms are identified by Smith as the components of capital. In effect, any questioning of the said components as sources of capital amounts to a definite questioning of capital in general as a source of value. This chapter takes up the challenge as to whether it is capital, in its component parts, or labour that determines value. Adam Smith's confusion is further unravelled.

***

Our first task here is to distinguish between *value* and *revenue*. This distinction is the *base* of Marx's critique of Adam Smith. In striking the distinction at p. 93, Marx quotes Adam Smith as stating that 'Wages, profit, and rent, are the three original sources of all *revenue*, as well as of all exchangeable *value'* (our italics). At p. 94, Marx upholds as 'true that they are the three original sources of all *revenue'*; but, in the same sentence, he considers it 'false that they *also* are the three original sources *of all exchangeable value'*. Hence, he asserts *revenue* and *value* as *different* categories. Does Adam Smith see it in that way?

Coming now to the substantive issue, Marx states at p. 94 that 'the value of a commodity is exclusively determined by the labour-time contained in it.' Smith, we are aware, considers rent and profit as *deductions* from value. For this reason, Marx asks how they could, therefore, be the original sources of exchangeable *value* – *deductions* being an *original* source? Marx responds that 'the distribution or appropriation of value is certainly not the source of the value that is appropriated.' He adds that whether the value is distributed or appropriated or not it remains the same with nothing added to it.

Rent and profit deductions apart, Marx is emphatic that *wages* do not also constitute an original source of value. He says that 'It is labour and not the wages of the labourer that creates value' (p. 94). Again he contends at p. 94 that wages might rise or fall without this affecting the value of the commodity that the labourer produces. Wages are part of previously created value which the labourer 'himself appropriates' (p. 94). As an appropriation of yesterday or today, wages are deductions from value and cannot, therefore, be the source of the very value from which it is appropriated.

Hence, capital as a whole is a *derivative* but not a source. But this does not mean that capital does not generate revenue or income. The point is that capital merely empowers its owner to *appropriate* part of the value that the labourer creates as its revenue or income. With such powers, it develops a relation with labour to play the role of a coercive force to compel or spur on the labourer to produce relative surplus-value. 'It creates no new value', says Marx. Even when it adds exchange-value to the product it does so as materialized labour-time – 'so that labour is the source of its value' (p. 93).[140]

***

In Section 7 of Chapter III, Marx essentially repeats his critique of Adam Smith's derivation of value from capital or its three parts. This time, however, he presents Adam Smith as involved in *double-talk* which exhibits a vicious circle. The double-talk consists in the fact that in some passages of his book he correctly traces *surplus-value* in its general and specific forms while in other passages he derives the general form from the specific forms in a reversed order. Hence, though he derives wages and profit from value he *adds* up wages, profit and rent to determine value – that is, their original source.

To understand Marx's portrayal of the vicious circle we need to understand the concept of 'natural price'. By a commodity's 'natural price' Adam Smith means the commodity's *value* as expressed in money, according to Marx. Hence, in the paragraph that begins from the end of p. 95 and ends at p. 96 we find the equivalent use of the two categories in part of a sentence thus: 'value of the commodity ... or its natural price'. Before this, when 5 shillings is said to be the value of a commodity we find the expression 'this *value* of five shillings, the *natural price* of the commodity'. Natural price is thus commodity's value.

In this sense, the *natural price* of a commodity is differentiated from its *market price*. The latter is either above or below the *value* of the commodity. In fact, Marx promises to show that 'the average price of commodities' – yet another category – 'is always different from their value'. We should, therefore, be inclined not to mix up these categories in the attempt to understand the vicious circle to be explained.

In describing the vicious circle, Marx raises the question as to what guides Adam Smith in his examination of the natural price of wages. Smith's answer is that it is the *natural price of the means of subsistence* that the labourer requires for the reproduction of their labour-power. Marx asks further as to what in turn determines *that* natural price. Here, Adam Smith's answer is that it is the

[140] Marx states likewise at p. 93 that 'In so far as the value of capital reappears in the product, it cannot be called a "source of wealth". Here it is only accumulated labour, as a definite quantity of materialised labour, that it adds its own value to the product.

natural price of wages, profit and rent added together. So that, in effect, we have a situation like this: natural price of wages → natural price of means of subsistence → natural price of wages. This is the vicious circle.

Marx says that Adam Smith's correct determination of the natural price of the means of subsistence entails his *returning* to the correct determination of *value*; which means pointing at 'the labour-time required for the production of these means of subsistence'. That is the way to break the vicious circle if not to avoid it altogether. As it is, not even an appeal to the law of demand and supply can be helpful. For, by that law, the market price – determined by the fluctuations in the demand and supply of the commodity – is said to equal the natural price (which is the same as the value of the commodity) when demand meets supply and that market price is, therefore, neither above nor below it.

For Marx, the wrong act of adding wages and profit to determine the value of a commodity bears the implication that any rise or fall in wages and profit is construed to mean a rise or fall in the value of the commodity. But truth is, wages and profit are determined by laws that are *independent* of the law that determines value. So that the value of a commodity remains the same whether wages and profit fall or rise. In his own words, 'it would be wrong to say that the value of the commodity arises from adding together or combining the price of the wages and the price of the profit which are regulated independently of the value of the commodity.'[141]

***

Section 8, Chapter III portrays the dire consequences of Adam Smith's making wages, profit and rent – in their total – the determinant of a commodity's value. By rendering those component parts the constituent of (as making up) the value of the commodity, Adam Smith gets stuck in a mud of 'twistings and turnings' as well as 'contradictions and wanderings',[142] Marx observes. To get that muddy, Adam Smith identifies a *fourth* part of the value of the commodity. This fourth part is made up of that 'which merely replaces the constant capital used up'[143] in an *individual's* process of production. He excludes it from the *revenue* made although he considers the other three components as revenue.

According to Adam Smith, just as the value of a particular commodity is resolved (distributed) into wages, profit and rent so are *all* commodities. This, in effect, means that once these three are considered as *revenue* accruing from the particular commodity so should they be considered as social *revenue* accruing from *all* commodities. And very importantly, Adam Smith holds that

[141] Ibid. p. 96
[142] Ibid. p. 103
[143] Ibid. p. 100

just as the *fourth part* is *not included* in revenue accruing from a particular commodity so should it not be included in the total *social revenue*.

Marx could accept the *initial* assertion involving the *particular individual* commodity under certain assumptions. However, he has problems with that concerning the total commodities – call it the *general* commodity or *social* product. He explains that if the fourth part does not constitute revenue for the *particular* individual, in the case of the general commodity it *constitutes* revenue for the *producer* of the capital that that particular individual uses. Just like this latter, the producer also creates value in *that* capital which value is then likewise distributed in the forms of wages, rent and profit as revenue. In this regard, Marx states Adam Smith's position and comments as follows:

> … in the case of the individual farmer we can distinguish a fourth part into which the value of his wheat for example resolves itself, namely the part which merely replaces the constant capital used up. This is *directly* true for the individual farmer. But when we go further into it, what is constant capital for him resolves itself at an *earlier* point, in another person's hand before it became capital in his, into wages, profit, etc., in a word, into revenue. therefore if it is true that commodities, considered in the hands of an individual producer, contain one part of the value which does not form revenue, then it is untrue for "all the inhabitants of a great country", because what in one person's hand is constant capital derives its value from the fact that it came from another person's hand as the aggregate price of wages, profit and rent.[144]

Illustrating with our own example, let us take a Communication Centre with a number of *computers* as a business unit. The proprietor creates value through the services he provides to the public. Out of that value (in monetary terms) he pays wages to his employees, rent to the landlord on whose land he erects his business unit, and profit for himself. Apart from these three revenues derived from that value, he also deducts a fourth to service his computers. Marx's argument is that the fourth part constitutes *value* for the *Computer Serviceman*; which value *this latter* also distributes into wages, profit and rent as revenues. Such services are rendered *before* the Centre's *next* production.

Hence, although the fourth part does not constitute *revenue* but *expenditure within* the Communication Centre business unit it serves as a *source* of revenue for somebody else, the Computer Serviceman. Globally speaking, therefore, in terms of the society *as a whole*, the fourth part is also part of the *social product* and *cannot be excluded* from it just because it does not constitute revenue for the individual proprietor. But Adam Smith does not see

[144] Ibid. p. 100

things this way and excludes this fourth part at both the individual and societal levels. He says at p. 102 in a quote concerning the fourth part that

> The machines and instruments of trade, etc., which compose the *fixed capital* either of an individual or of a society, make no part *either of the gross or of the neat (net) revenue* of either; so *money* …

Hence, he employs calculations of gross and net revenue to *exclude* the fourth part in the *total value* of the social product and thus regards only that part of value *not industrially consumed* as *revenue*. But Marx argues that the fixed (or industrial) capital could be sold and the proceeds consumed as *revenue* (wealth) – this wealth being determined by the size of the sold capital.[145] The fixed capital, when thus sold, however, would remain *fixed capital* in the hands of the *new buyer*. This suggests that we return to where we came from; since we would still raise the question as to whether *this* fixed capital is part of revenue or not. The same answer is given – its convertibility into revenue.

These '*twistings and turnings*' in Adam Smith's thought, Marx observes further, go together with definite 'contradictions' therein. In holding that the materials which go into making machines and the machines themselves 'can never make any part of this neat (net) revenue',[146] Adam Smith appears to suggest to Marx that they are then part of the *gross* revenue. But in our citation from Smith above his position is that *even with the gross revenue* it is also not a part. Meanwhile, he had just said that 'The *gross* revenue of all the inhabitants of a great country comprehends (involves) the *whole* annual produce of their land and labour'.[147] The contradiction is glaring and crystal clear.

Thus, Smith's generalization of the particular conditions of the individual producer to embrace social production as a whole consequently amounts to a *diminution* of the total value of the social product. In other words, it's incorrect on his part to restrict the total value of the social product to *revenue* in wages, profit and rent – this being a consequence of deriving value from *adding* the three component parts of value rather than deriving them *from* value. For, if he were to calculate the wages, profit and rent *from* the total value created by even the individual producer he would find some *value* still left – the fourth part. This fourth part presents Adam Smith with a 'real difficulty' to solve.

***

In stating the nature of the difficulty facing Smith, Marx restricts himself to the *reproduction of existing capital* and does not include additional or new capital used to augment the number of available capital. 'The difficulty', Marx says, 'is the reproduction of the *existing* constant capital, not the formation of new

[145] Ibid. p. 101
[146] Ibid. p. 102
[147] Ibid. p. 101

capital in excess of what has to be reproduced.'[148] The word 'reproduction' here connotes 'maintenance'. At p. 98, Adam Smith talks about both the 'price' (in the sense of 'cost') and 'maintenance' of a horse as constant capital. Hence, the 'price' applies to the new capital while 'maintenance' applies to its 'reproduction'. Marx has another way of stating the same difficulty.

At p. 108 he therefore states: '… the question here is: Who is it that labours in order to replace the equivalent of the constant capital already expended in production?' This amplifies what he means by 'reproduction' or 'maintenance' to suggest that the question at hand is in reference to the replacement of that part of constant capital that is used up in the production process. Asking the question 'who' is further expressed otherwise as 'What then is the source, the labour, that replaces the constant capital?' The difficulty facing Smith is then finally understood as one of determining the source of capital *maintenance*. The stage is now set to see how that difficulty shows up in Adam Smith.

***

To begin with, Marx makes a whipping-dog of Jean-Baptiste Say, whom he accuses of 'dull superficiality' in his repetition of Smith's 'inconsistencies and blunders', to clarify preliminary issues in dealing with the determination of the source of the reproduction or maintenance of constant capital. Say's act of equating the *value* of products with their *cost* stands in the direction of the first shots. To this end, Marx critically mobilizes opinions of Storch and Ramsay.

As said, Say's quoted statements at Section 9 equate the *value* of products with their *costs* of production. Hence, with the deduction of the costs at the end of the labour-process *all* the value of the products vanishes. Consequently, he sees only the *gross* revenue and dismisses the existence or availability of any *net* revenue. This means for him that the gross product is consumed as a *whole* - without remainder. Only Smith's reversed act of derivation influences this.

Marx observes that in point of fact Say does not just render the *net* revenue unavailable but the *gross* revenue as well. Surely, how Say at all comes to any *revenue* after deducting the *entire* value of products as *costs* is mysterious. That is why, following Say's logic, Marx correctly sees that by his argument *both* net revenue and gross revenue come to a *final end*. His observations are better quoted than left thus paraphrased. Hence, we quote Marx from p. 103:

> The value of the total annual products is equal to the quantity of labour-time materialised in them. If the aggregate value is deducted from the annual product, then in fact, so far as value is concerned, there remains no value, and by this deduction both the net revenue and the gross revenue have come to a final end.

[148] Ibid. p. 107

***

Assuming, nevertheless, that Say still finds some annually produced values to be consumed, he says that the *whole* of it is consumed. So that a gross revenue that is totally consumed *exists*. Marx contests this but at a different level of the discourse. At that level, he is on the real, *not assumed*, existence of annually produced values. Of these values, he says, a larger part is not consumed. He is here talking about fixed capital proper or constant capital.[149] He contends that this constant capital (as accumulated annually produced values) 'enters the labour-process without … their total value being annually consumed'.[150]

Apart from *constant capital*, Marx also refers to *circulating capital* which is consumed in the labour-process as means of production but which, like *seed*, is *reproduced* either in the same form, like the same seed-type, or in the form of an equivalent, like an improved seed-type, and *returned* to that labour-process.[151] In addition to these values for capital consumption, there is a part of the annually produced values that is individually or *finitely* consumed – that is, it ends up in the individual's abdomen or entertainment (theatrical, etc.) or in any other personal use.[152] The finitely consumed is 'the net product'.[153]

Marx's quotations from both Storch and George Ramsay are, in general, only *more detailed* critiques of Jean-Baptiste Say which add flesh to Marx's critique. The reader is urged to read them critically in turn. Such a read brings out the fact that in spite of their insight they still do not have a solution to the question that Adam Smith meritoriously raises in the fourth part of value – the question of capital – but does not provide an answer to. Marx provides that answer when he states that: 'Put plainly, it is this: The whole capital (as values) resolves itself into labour, is nothing but a certain quantity of materialised labour.'[154]

---

[149] At p. 104, Marx explains that while by 'fixed capital' Ramsay means instruments of production and such like *as well as* raw materials he means by that 'constant capital', that is, the instruments of production and such like only: 'By "fixed capital" Ramsay in fact means not only instruments of production, etc., but also the raw material – in short, what I call constant capital within each sphere of production.' At p. 105, he refers to 'that part of capital which consists of raw materials or completed commodities (which do not form part of the fixed capital).' This is reinforced at p. 106 where he refers to the raw materials as 'that part of … capital expended as *circulating capital*.' Hence, by 'constant capital' Marx restricts himself to the instruments of production and such like which he then calls 'fixed capital' unlike Ramsay. The raw materials and some completed commodities are, for him, 'circulating capital'. So that whereas Ramsay's 'fixed capital' is all-embracing, Marx's 'constant capital', in his sense of fixed capital, is distinguished from 'circulating capital' or the raw materials. This is why when he wishes to be understood in *his* sense he talks about 'fixed capital proper – machinery, etc. (See p. 105)'. For the reader who requires a more elaborate definition of 'constant capital', in Marx's sense of the phrase, pp. 245 – 247 of the same book are very helpful. They spell out its component parts.

[150] Ibid. p. 103

[151] Ibid. p. 103

[152] Ibid. p. 103

[153] Ibid. p. 103

[154] Ibid. p. 106. That is to say that capital itself has its source in labour. How then could it or any part of it be the source of value which is nothing else but materialized labour? In the next chapter we develop this issue of capital further and more deeply.

***

In our illustration involving the Communication Centre, the computers – as constant capital – are said to be *replaced* (undergo maintenance with spare parts) from the Computer Manufacturer's shop. Such a replacement, unlike the computers being *increased* in number, involves the existing constant capital. Presumably, the source of financing the purchase of the spare parts is the fourth part deduction from the annually created value. For, as Adam Smith puts it at p. 98, 'A fourth part, it may be thought, is necessary for replacing the stock of the farmer, or compensating the wear and tear of his labouring cattle, and other instruments of husbandry.'

But Marx takes *surplus-value* as a whole in its appropriation by the capitalist who then apportions whichever part of it to whosoever. Regarding constant capital allocation, he says that the capitalist makes an expenditure *either* for the maintenance of existing (old) constant capital *or* for adding new constant capital to the existing stock. For him, it is a situation of *either or* but not *both*. He puts it at p. 108, under Section 10 of Chapter III, thus: '… the capitalist does not replace the capital already used up in his own production out of this surplus-value or profit. <Were this the case, the surplus-value would not be a fund for new capital formation, but for the maintenance of the old capital>'.

This is the difficulty, says Marx, facing Adam Smith – the determination of the source of capital maintenance. In the next chapter, the question is then raised as to the *source* for the reproduction (maintenance) of the *existing* constant capital; that is, that which is not totally consumed in the process of production.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Surplus-Value: Marx's Critique of Adam Smith III

In addressing the question of the source of capital maintenance at Section 10, Chapter III, Marx repeatedly states that the source for the acquisition of *new* constant capital in *addition* to the existing constant capital is the *surplus-value* that the capitalist appropriates from the labourer's *surplus-labour* performed. At p. 108 he explains that part of the labour that the labourer performs for the capitalist replaces (that is, in the sense of 'restores') the wages paid by the capitalist; while the other part, which is extra labour freely performed without the capitalist paying for it, goes to the capitalist as *surplus-value* out of which the capitalist creates a fund for *finite* consumption and another for *new* capital.

This leaves *no* part (of the entire created value) for capital *maintenance*. There arises then the question of *where* the fund for capital maintenance (or, what is the same thing, the labour for the replacement of expended part of constant capital) comes from. That is why at the same page Marx asks: 'Who is it that labours in order to replace the equivalent of the constant capital already expended in production? … What then is the source, the labour, that replaces the constant capital?' To forestall anybody pointing at the current (new) round of production as that source, Marx quickly talks about the new production as the source for wages replacement, etc.; so that nothing is left.

In further addressing the question, Marx assumes at p. 109 that though cost of the constant capital may rise or fall in the period of production, due to the fact that 'the commodities (parts) of which it is composed' are reproduced at cost greater or less than previously, it is ignored in the current discussion. This is so because whatever the cost (or value) may be it reflects in the value of the product. Hence, we can assume that cost to be *constant* so as to simplify things in order 'to bring out more clearly the nature of the problem' which 'here centres on that part of the constant capital which is actually consumed within the year, and therefore also must be replaced within the year.'

Having made these assumptions, Marx then sets to the business of detailing the nature of the problem by way of an illustration which, for the first section of the discussion as found at Section 10 (a), may be summarized in these two sentences from pp. 124-125 thus: 'Let us assume that A is the total product of society: then one-third of this total product can be bought by the producers for their own consumption, bought and paid for with the total of their wages and their profits, equal to the total newly-added labour, the amount of their aggregate revenue. They have no fund with which to pay for, to buy and consume, the other two-thirds.' Who buys the two-thirds? What's it? We go on.

***

Take the value of commodities produced over a period of one year. This value has two component parts: the first covers both the raw materials and means of production expended (constant capital) and the second covers newly-added labour (materialized labour). At the *commencement* of production the constant capital enters into the process of production at its own value. This value is expressed in terms of the materialized labour that had gone into it in its previous production. Part of that value is expended over the one year period and must have to be replaced in that year. The newly-added labour requires living labour that is to be materialized in replacement of wages advanced.

Beginning from p. 109, Marx assumes that given some number of commodities their total value is divided in proportions of two-thirds for constant capital and one-third for added labour.[155] The added labour itself is made up of the wages of labour and the profit of capital. Marx assumes further that a total of 12 hours of labour is performed; out of which 10 hours materialize as wages and 2 hours materialize as profit. In monetary terms, he additionally assumes that an hour of labour is equal to 1 shilling; so that the total of wages and profit add up to 12 shillings. That amount is also assumed to be meant for finite consumption whereby all of it is expended on commodities for personal consumption *only*.

A further assumption is that 12 yards of linen are produced in the production process and priced at 3 shillings per yard. This means that the 12 yards would sell at 36 shillings. In terms of labour-time, that means 36 hours of labour. Assuming again that the labourer and capitalist are to spend their entire revenue (wages + profit) on buying what is thus produced they can buy only 12 shillings worth of their produce; that is, one-third or 4 yards only. The remaining 8 yards, representing two-thirds of the produce or 24 hours of labour-time, are then left unsold. *If* sold that would be 24 shillings which is two-thirds of the total price or value.[156] It replaces ($^2/_3$) used constant capital.

***

The question now is: how are the 8 yards sold 'to replace the equivalent of the constant capital already expended in production?', Marx asks.[157] In other words, whose living labour is materialized (in terms of wages and profit) to enable the buying up of the 8 yards for the replacement of the part of constant capital used? At p. 112, Marx puts it all this way:

> But now comes the difficulty. The *total product* of the 12 hours of weaving labour … is 12 yards of linen, of the value of 36 hours' labour or 36s. But wages and profit together, or the total labour-time of 12 hours can buy back only 12 of these 36 hours' labour, or of the total

[155] Ibid. p. 110
[156] There is the assumption 'that the price of these commodities is equal to their value' at p. 109.
[157] Ibid. p. 108

> product only 4 yards, not a piece more. What happens to the other 8 yards?

Looking at it carefully from the standpoint of the proportions into which the total value is divided, the entire 12 yards contain $^{2}/_{3}$ of constant capital used and $^{1}/_{3}$ of newly-added labour. This means that *any* portion of the linen contains *these* proportions – be it one yard or three yards or twelve yards. We find then that the 4 yards that the labourer and the capitalist buy contain the same proportion such that $^{1}/_{3}$ newly-added labour and $^{2}/_{3}$ constant capital are contained in them. The same situation holds in the case of the 8 yards of linen. But then something curious happens.

We observe that in the case of the 4 yards, the labourer and the capitalist, by using their entire revenue to buy them, cover the labour materialized or contained in them: the 4 yards represent $^{1}/_{3}$ of the total product and the newly-added labour so that those 4 yards cover themselves. In the case of the 8 yards, they do not cover themselves but *are covered* by their equivalent in the $^{2}/_{3}$ of constant capital consumed in the production process. There is a state of reversal of relations in this latter respect. So Marx requires to know what happens to the 8 yards of linen:

> What then happens to the 8 yards of linen, which have absorbed the value of the whole constant capital which has been *maintained* during the 12 hours' weaving labour, or which went into the production process, but is now in the form of a product destined for direct, individual (not industrial) consumption?[158]

***

At p. 113, Marx suggests that in case the capitalist, who actually owns the 8 yards, consumes them they (the capitalist) would no longer be able to function as a capitalist. It means that they must sell the 8 yards. But he raises the question as to who buys them. Of course, their own labourers and they themselves have exhausted their revenue on the 4 yards. He deeply repeats the question at p. 114 where he asks 'Who buys the part of the total product with whose value the elements of constant capital that have meanwhile been newly produced are again bought? Who buys the 8 yards of linen?'

What Marx here calls 'the elements of constant capital that have meanwhile been newly produced' are what we would now call 'spare parts'. He is thence asking as to who buys the 8 yards to enable the purchase of spare parts for the maintenance of the constant capital. These spare parts, he explains at p. 113, are *simultaneously* produced at other spheres of production where their

[158] Ibid. p. 112 Italics added.

production *similarly* involves issues of newly-added labour and constant capital depletion and replacement.

Let us assume that a shoemaker and a butcher also produce a total value of 72s – 36s each just like the linen producer. To buy the 8 yards of linen they would need to use *all* their revenue (wages plus profit) which is $^1/_3$ of the 72s, that is, 24s. That means that they cannot buy any of their own products; which is unlike the linen producer who uses their revenue to buy *part* of their own product. In this way, the problem of selling the 8 yards of linen left is solved for the linen producer. But this only shifts the problem from the linen producer to the shoemaker and the butcher who have 72s worth of products to be sold.

We call the linen producer A, the shoemaker B and the butcher C. To sell the entire 72s worth of produce, B and C would need six other buyers, that is, D, E, F, G, H, I. The latter would all spend their total revenue of 72s (12s each) to buy B's and C's produce. These six producers would have produced 216s worth of produce (6 x 36). This means that, like B and C, all their produce, worth 216s, would be sold to *others* and none to themselves since they have expended all their revenue on B's and C's products. But this 216s worth of produce would require eighteen others to buy from D, E, F, G, H, I.

That means 18 x 12: each producer earning 12s in wages and profit. The total produce here, however, is 18 x 36: each producer producing 36s in product value. That amounts to 648s. Once again, since all of this amount of produce would need to be sold a total of 54 producers would buy them with their wages and profits; 54 x 12 = 648. These 54 producers would have produced a total of 54 x 36. That amounts to 1,944s worth of produce. For this amount of produce 162 other producers would be needed for its sale: 162 x 12 = 1,944. This amount for the purchase comes from a produce worth 5,832s (162 x 36).

It would be observed at this point that at every level of the production process each line of producers' total produce has two parts: $^1/_3$ being the total of wages and profit (w&p) and $^2/_3$ being the total constant capital (c.c.). Respectively, Line 1 has a total value of 12s being parted into 4s in w&p and 8s in c.c; Line 2 spots a total value of 72s being parted into 24s in w&p and 48s in c.c; Line 3 shows 216s in total value being parted into 72s in w&p and 144s in c.c; Line 4 parts a total value of 648s into 216s in w&p and 432s in c.c; Line 5 has total value = 1,944s, w&p = 648s and c.c. = 1,296s; and that for Line 6 being total value = 5,832s, w&p = 1,296s and c.c. = 4,536s. *Ad infinitum*.

Hence, the aggregate social value always shows a progressive increment in the constant capital that remains to be maintained in the year. This means that the problem stays put, unsolved. That is why Marx states at p. 124 that 'it might have been foreseen from the onset that introducing the acts of exchange, sales and purchases between different commodities or products of

different production spheres, would not bring us a step forward … (T)he example A therefore holds good for the total capital of the society, and though the problem can be complicated by introducing the exchange of different commodities, the problem itself remains unchanged.'

It appears to Marx that the solution to the problem could be realized only when, in the manner that the example of A shows that the wages and profit are replaced by newly-added labour within the one production process, constant capital, as pre-existing labour, is similarly replaced by its product. One might ask Marx, 'which product?' It is the part of the total value in which the constant capital is represented (by the 8 yards). He points out at p. 125 with our italics:

> Just as the newly-added labour, the one-third which consists of profit and wages, is itself covered by its own product, or withdraws only that part of the value of the product which contains one-third of the total labour, newly-added labour or its equivalent, so *must* the two-thirds of pre-existing labour be covered by its own product. That is to say, the constant capital remains equal to itself and replaces itself out of that part of the value which represents the constant capital in the total product.

Marx is to examine this more closely, as he puts it.

To Be Continued In Our Next Issue

BACK TO CONTENTS

REVOLUTIONARY PAN-AFRICANISM

The Shivji-Prah Debate

FROM SPARKS TO CONFLAGRATIONS – AN INTERVENTION

By

Lang T. K. A Nubuor

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Foremost Pan-African Theoretician and Activist who ever traversed the African landscape, is constantly educating us on the central issues of Pan-Africanism that some compatriots were mixing up in the heat of the 1960s when the Black Power Movement was shaking the foundations of American society. His concerns are not only documented in **The Conakry Years** *but also immortalized in* **The Spectre of Black Power.** *If memory serves us right, the central concepts of his Pan-African philosophy remain: territoriality, raciality and class struggle.*

Dr. Nkrumah makes the African continent **the arena** *of the Pan-African struggle. He insists that until and unless the continent is liberated from imperialism and neo-colonialism the Black person remains in chains* **everywhere**. *This resolves the controversy over* **territoriality** *that partly disturbed Marcus Garvey's relationship with Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois. The respect and dignity that Dr. Du Bois sought for the Black person* **in America** *comes not through their* **repatriation** *to Africa, as Garvey sought to do, but through the all-round liberation of the Black person on the African* **continent**, *the home of all Blacks.*

This dialectical definition of the concept of territoriality in the mind of Dr. Nkrumah at once satisfies the apparent divergent desires of Dr. Du Bois and Garvey as it incorporates them. The Black in America achieves racial equality there with the emancipation of the continental Black and this emancipation, which precedes the emancipation of Man, creates the condition for the American Black to feel free to return to the continent or enjoy the consequent respect and dignity accorded the African Personality in America. Why **this** *concept of territoriality is not acknowledged in the Debate appears strange.*

Dr. Nkrumah's concept of **raciality** *in his definition of Pan-Africanism is predicated on the historical fact of a whole race being suppressed into a single class of workers. In the Americas, the Black, whether they were*

'commoners' or 'royals' while in Africa, were reduced to the same denominator of the working class. Consequently, the loss of respect and dignity of the worker in the perceptions of the capitalist class (the bourgeoisie) was extended to the race that had been so suppressed. In this profound conception of the question of race, Dr. Nkrumah views racism in the context of class struggle.

Thus, fundamental to Pan-Africanism is the concept and reality of the **class struggle**. *The idea of Pan-Africanism being neither capitalist nor socialist or that it could go either way – and, therefore, without such an ideological direction – is not borne out by the process of its history. From the date of the 5th Pan-African Congress in 1945 through the All-African Peoples' Conferences it is transformed from an initial struggle for racial equality to one against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism –the breeding grounds of racism. Scientific socialism directed and directs it.*

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah now points out that the major obstacle to the realization of Pan-Africanism is the colonial heritage of a balkanized Africa with its arbitrarily engineered borders between and among African states. That balkanization disguises the reality of the **African Nation**. *The Debate between Prof. Issa G. Shivji and Prof. Kwesi K. Prah together with this author's intervention sorts out the issues touched on above to defuse the current confusion in the African conscience. It is our hope that the heat of the Debate will compel the reconsideration of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's perspectives and conception of the Pan-African Project which the academicians appear to neglect.*

PART ONE

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The entire development of technology, which is constantly breaking down all barriers, and uniting the world in a way that has never been seen before, is an argument in favour of a world planned economy… a democratically-run society, in which men and women would achieve conscious control over their lives and destinies. On the basis of a harmonious planned economy, pooling the resources of the entire planet, a vista of unlimited development opens up. On the one hand, we have the task of nurturing our own world, of making it fit for human beings, of repairing the ravages caused by the greed of irresponsible multinationals. On the other, we have before us the greatest challenges yet contemplated by our species—the exploration of space, linked to the question of the future survival of humankind.

Alan Woods and Ted Grant, *Reason In Revolt*

In the twentieth century … Africans have become aware of their own identity and concerned for their standing relative to the rest of the world. White, Negroes, Asians and mixed communities have strongly asserted their claim to self-development, uniqueness and independence. Many conflicts of interest among these groups have not been resolved. Like other continents, Africa has become an amalgam, a crucible of complex forces. Africa is one thread, distinguishable yet not isolated, in the fabric of human history.

I

African society is now a multi-racial society. Like American society, African society exhibits a multi-racial texture of Black-Africans, White or Boer-Africans (Afrikaners), Arab-Africans, Indian-Africans and Mixed Blood-Africans (Coloured or Half-Casts). The emergence of this amalgam over a period of history has been the result of the interplay of a multiplicity of interests, converging and disintegrating but ultimately forging out of this melee the African Nation. The historian, Donald L. Wiedner, observes above that 'Like other continents, Africa has become an amalgam, a crucible of complex forces. Africa is one thread, distinguishable yet not isolated, in the fabric of human history.'

The process of African history maps up a trajectory of the evolution of political institutions on the heels of economic developments to service the economic system. This map throws up the spectacle of trade and trade routes increasingly connecting the people of Africa. This trade that emerged from communities involved in subsistence agriculture spread across the Sahara to bring Arab traders in contact with Blacks. The trade in salt and gold occasioned the creation of states with the corresponding breakdown of communal societies in the savannah and forest regions. Population explosion in cattle-rearing communities initiated migrations from the West African region to central, eastern and southern Africa to live in contact with the indigenes.

While these developments led to the emergence of empires out of the initial states which were then brought together, the practice of slavery, as a social means of discipline for transgressing persons upon the appearance of private property in society, was debased into commoditization of the person. Blacks were bought or captured from the forest regions and sold in markets across the Sahara and the East African coast. The scale of this trade in human cargoes expanded with the appearance of Europeans on the West African coast, in search of the source of the trans-Saharan trade in gold, and the development of cotton plantations in America. The slave trade became a source of revenue for the semi-feudal kingdoms of Dahomey and Ashanti as well as others in southern Africa while it provided labour in America and Asia.

The European and Arab interaction with Blacks promoted not only state and empire-building activities in African society but also created opportunities for inter-racial marriages and the consequent emergence of mixed races on African soil. The importation of Indian labour from India to work on European plantations in Southern Africa added to the racial mix. Once in Africa the Indians could not return home since they were made to live together irrespective of their castes. The breakdown of the caste system among them disqualified them from re-entry into Indian society in India where they would be treated as outcasts. On African soil, where they appeared free from caste restrictions, their standard of living was higher than in India. In addition,

Europeanization and Arabization created a cultural mix whereby some Blacks became detribalized and saw themselves either as Europeans or Arabs by reason of their cultural acquisition.

Fundamental to these developments was the mix of class interests. Within each race of the racial mix were classes. The dominant class within the particular race mobilized the dominated ones against all other races. Hence, in Southern Africa the British elite favoured British residents in appointments against the Dutch (Boers); but they collaborated with the Boer elite not only against the collection of the British and Boer lower classes but also organized those lower classes behind them against the Black and Indian populations. With the Black placed at the bottom of the social-economy this system of collaborations finally held the elites of the various races in an unholy alliance in their economic exploitation of the collection of the lower classes of all the races. For, as Wiedner put it, 'multiracial interdependence … underlay the nation's economic life.'

Whenever the Boer elite accused the British of imperialism they tried to mobilize the other races which were perceived as 'lower' than them. But once they settled their differences their alliance remained intact; of course, until they finally dislodged the British and inaugurated the apartheid system against all the other races. The issue of race, like ethnicism, had always, as even today, been a device by the elite classes to fight out intra-elite secondary contradictions over the spoils of their exploitation of the underprivileged classes whom they kept and keep divided. And yet the deceit of the masses did not, as it does not, last forever. Seething under elite (bourgeois) oppression, the masses *initiated* their own liberation; this they did, paradoxically, by courting personalities within their own oppressor elite during the period of nationalism to lead the struggle.

The orientation and ideological direction of the nationalist struggle depended on the extent to which the said leadership identified with the needs and aspirations of the masses. Where such an identification was *temporary*, the nationalist struggle ended, first, in the substitution of local elite oppression and exploitation in place of foreign oppression and exploitation; and, second, in the realignment of local elite alliance with the erstwhile forces of imperialism for a neo-colonial relationship against the masses in an act of grand betrayal of the masses. However, where the said identification was *permanent*, the leadership (Dr. Kwame Nkrumah being a classic example) committed what amounted to class suicide and made a life-long commitment to the needs and aspirations of the masses. The survival of such a leadership depended on its attitude towards the inherited colonial power system (the state).

That system was created, built and established for the specific purpose of serving *colonial* interests against the interests of the colonized people. Like a machine designed to grind maize but not stones, the colonial state apparatus could not be used to serve the interests of the freed people. It either needed to be replaced or reformed through reorientation if the needs and aspirations of the masses were to be fundamentally served. But any reform, by definition,

left the basic functions intact and changes could only be cosmetic. On the other hand, to effect a replacement involved a fundamental ideological reorientation and self-sacrifice that only a conscientized and fully conscious people, disposed to long-suffering, could undertake. Where the departing colonial administrator disabled the set-up, the task appeared half-completed.

In other words, where the local elite betrayed the masses in leadership a neo-colonial system emerged as a reform of the colonial system which was thereby essentially left intact for business as usual – imperialist capitalist exploitation with the collaboration of the local elite. The attempt to *replace* the colonial system involved a leadership that was not only committed to the task but had a clear understanding of the character of the required change in terms of structural or institutionalized mass undertaking of that task. In point of historical fact, where the power apparatus was inherited intact the committed leadership at best left it only shaken while it sought to build its replacement (an alternative) alongside it consciously or unconsciously. Where this occurred, it was predicated on a fundamental drive to freeze class formation in Africa as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah attempted to do.

In the rear case of Guinea where the departing colonial power dismantled its power apparatus before leaving, the new leadership had the singular opportunity to create the new institutional structure straight-on. Creating mass-based defence committees and militia, it was burdened, however, with an administrative personnel weighed down with the ideological hangover of the erstwhile colonial power. Its imminent collapse was only a matter of time. It survived an invasion undertaken by Portuguese imperialist and mercenary forces that had the collaboration of personnel within the administration. But the pressure of neo-colonial forces, operating in and out of the country, ended in a coup d'état that put paid to the revolutionary efforts in that country. Neo-colonialism has since then been entrenched in the country.

In the face of the weakness of the emerging balkanized nation-states to stand the demands of development the urgency of the programme in the Declaration of the 5th Pan-African Congress in Manchester became pronounced. That Declaration, authored by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as a secretary of the Congress, had projected a Pan-African perspective for the liberation and development of the continent. The unviability of the nation-states, which represented the truncated process of integrating the African people through the building of states and empires, became and remain the greatest obstacle to the unification and development of African society. In the process, the radical endeavours of replacement of the inherited colonial power system required concerted efforts *across the continent*.

These efforts were made in a two-pronged strategy of uniting the continent at the level of the states and liberation movements. They led not only to the creation of the Organization of African Unity and the system of All-African Peoples Conferences but more importantly to the consciousness of an *African Nation*. For, as Wiedner once again puts it, 'One of the tests of *national* unity is the unanimity of response, regardless of domestic politics, to foreign dangers.' Africans face the common dangers of imperialism and neo-

colonialism whose blood is capitalism. Their unanimous response to these dangers was held in check and continues to be held in check; but the sustained consciousness and determination of the Kwesi Pratts guarantee ultimate victory as this check cannot be sustained forever in the face of the people's mass resistance, thanks to historical inevitability. Acts of balkanization stand condemned.

This brief overview illustrates that in the process of imperialist and capitalist exploitation of African society concepts of race, ethnicity and culture are *secondary* to the capitalist, colonialist and neo-colonialist enterprise. African history portrays a panorama of a multiplicity of racial and ethnic forces in the pursuit of economic interests leading to the evolution of a multi-racial, multi-ethnic class-rendered society. In their collective exploitation of the society the exploiting elites (bourgeois forces), small as they have always been, collaborate and unite the strength of their class, in spite of racial origin and cultural differences among them, to dominate and exploit the overwhelming masses of the working people in the first instance. In this endeavour they play the racial or ethnic card only when they disagree among themselves over the spoils of or prospects for exploitation.

Across the African landscape sprawls the reality of a multi-racial amalgam – the *African Nation* of Black *Africans*, Arab *Africans*, Boer *Africans* (Afrikaners) and Indian *Africans* as well as so-called Coloured *Africans* and even Europeanized and Arabized *Africans* forged by the force of history. What makes them *African* is their collective history of living together, with all the difficulties that this implies, and sharing a common stake in the fortunes of Africa as well as exhibiting cultures *peculiar to Africa* and forged in the cauldron of civilization on the African continent. The false consciousness that an Afrikaner or Indian-African, born and bred on African soil, might suffer on the basis of pigmentation and, therefore, claim to be either a European or an Indian, in spite of the fact of a cultural and historical heritage that is different from that of the so-called mother country, is only the symptom of the continued exploitation of racial and ethnic concepts to sustain the hegemony of the exploiting elite classes. If it were not so, could Barak Obama commit to America against African interests?

It is in this light that the balkanization of African society, orchestrated by imperialist and neo-colonialist forces and their intellectual surrogates of sociologists and anthropologists, against the Pan-African Project needs to be quickly deciphered and combated with the appropriate measure of force – intellectual and political. This forms the immediate context of our intervention in the Shivji-Prah Debate in Part Two of this paper.

II

What appears as a parenthetical reference to Professor Kwesi K. Prah's alleged racialist position on the conception of an African in Professor Issa Shivji's paper on Nationalism and Pan-Africanism has produced a huge but instructive outburst from Prof. Prah. Like many of such conflagrations it ends up in, at least, an attempted destruction of the Pan-African Project through its

balkanization. To be considered an African it is said to be *essential* that wherever one resides one *acquires* and exhibits some particular cultural traits historically associated with a particular group of people in the universe.

The historically immediate *geographical* origin of that person is not considered equally *crucial* or *strategically* relevant. Prof. Prah does not deny that the African has a land. He just does not consider this ownership crucial enough in the definition of the African for us to bother our heads over a sizeable part of it, together with its resources, being alienated in a Pan-Arab Project that might divorce such land and resources from their utilization for the fulfilment of the African as he conceives him.

In the process, the territorial space of Africa is *essentially* divorced from the concept of an African as a historico-cultural personality. For, a conception of the African as one whose personality is not essentially identified with the *entire* African land mass denies his materiality, the source of his immediate sustenance, and, therefore, his being, existence. We, therefore, see in our hands an African without a land of birth which he protects and should protect as his own. This essentially *locationless* African cannot, therefore, even be living in a Diaspora which connotes, in part, a geographical location of historical origin relative to current abode. He is a *universally* located person and, therefore, not located – the universe is his home. The loss of land, even if only a part of it, is a meaningless proposition to such a person. These are harsh implications of Prof. Prah's concept of the African.

Let it register in the mind of anybody with such a misconception of the African – an African essentially defined with an *alienable* land – that unless the united world projected in Woods and Grant above is attained the African, conceived as a historico-cultural person primordially located in and immediately associated with the territorial space called Africa with economic and political interests, will be defended with our blood, flesh and life. No inch of Africa can ever and will ever be ceded to any other people. It is not for nothing that Jews have sought a location and defend it after centuries of dislocation. (Of course, today they are denying the same to the Palestinians in contradiction).

Arab Africans and the Arabized on the African continent are no less African than the Asante sitting on Guan land or the Bantu on Khoisan land. Prof. Prah invites us to look at the history of Arabs on the African continent. Yes, in that history we find such Arabs enslaving Blacks. But we also find Asantes and Dahomeyans enslaving fellow Blacks. And all these people were not only involved in the slave trading of the Black but also waged wars to nourish that demeaning trade even when attempts were being made to stop it. The Afrikaners milling around Prof. Prah in South Africa did not only enslave the Bantu but as well seized their fertile land and concentrated them and their family in reserves on infertile sections of their own land.

The feudal systems that emerged in African society were preceded by these slave socio-economic formations which were blind to the pigmentation of the skin in their infliction of collective pain on African society. Together with the

ravages of colonialism, these formations have left us with an African society of an amalgam of races sharing a stake in the continent and its independence against imperialism. Hence, we see the emergence and observance of a non-racial policy in Southern Africa. Does Prof. Prah contest that policy?

No one needs telling that there are conflicts of interest among people living in Africa just as we find such conflicts on the other continents. To use *cultural* differences to define Africanness or Africanity is to worsen this panorama of conflicts by misdirecting our attention from the class struggle. Not only have returnee Black slaves, respectively calling themselves Creoles and Americo-Liberians, sought to dominate the other Blacks they came back to live with on claims of *cultural* superiority – thanks to the cultural violence inflicted on them by the slave master – but also their descendants have only been recently involved in mutual violence with the 'indigenes' in Sierra Leone and Liberia. West Africa is still seething with the repercussions of those conflicts.

So also have we had Sudan involved in conflicts between Arabized Blacks and non-Arabized Blacks – leading to the unfortunate creation of yet another potentially unviable state in Africa. Pan-Africanism, conceived essentially in *cultural* terms, is an innocuous device to retain African disunity for a more effective imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation of the continent and its people. This is what Prof. Prah's strategy of minorities imbibing majority cultures enhances – not the historically-determined aims of unification and scientific socialism – against the Marxist-Nkrumaist strategy of mobilizing and organizing Africans around their land and resources *in the first instance*. Nkrumah did say at page 80 of *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* that 'We must have every inch of our land and every one of our mines and industries.' In *Africa Must Unite* he puts it this way: 'There is no single part of the African continent which is not precious to us and our development'.

In his rebuff of Prof. Shivji, Prof. Prah also provides us with a spark to set our own conflagration. Ours aims at the destruction of the myth of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's turning Marxist only after the 1966 coup d'état. This popularized myth constitutes such a monumental intellectual, if not just an academic, injustice to Dr. Nkrumah's intellectuality that his great works in theory and practice before the coup have been crudely excised from the conscience of the mature or older African and denied to that of the young. And yet even a casual perusal of his *Revolutionary Path* confirms his desire in *The Conakry Years* to trace his consistency as a Marxist theoretician and practitioner from his writing of *Towards Colonial Freedom* in 1945-47 through *Class Struggle in Africa* to *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*; that is, from the inception of his Pan-African political activities until his demise. Why minds like Prof. Prah's have not yet tested Dr. Nkrumah's undertaking in the *Revolutionary Path* to refute the latter's claims to Marxist consistency beats the imagination. Such minds have rather created a monstrous myth – without evidential support.

They refer to that myth as if it were an axiom. The publication of *Class Struggle in Africa* appears to be the genesis of this myth; and, yet, *Class Struggle in Africa,* together with *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, represents only a programmatic shift from *stemming* the tide of the crystallization of classes to

the intensive *waging* of the class struggle in Africa. That was in application of the principle of concrete analysis of the concrete situation. No principle of Marxist theory and practice was consequently violated. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's critical operation within the Marxist theoretical framework and the internationalist programme of the 1950s appears to us as the most conscious undertaking by a Marxist intellectual ever on the African continent to apply theoretical insights with a universal validity to concrete struggles in Africa. In *Consciencism* we find the summation of the theoretical framework. In *Africa Must Unite* and *Neo-Colonialism*, etc., we find its application.

In this respect, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as a Marxist scholar and Pan-African activist is explored in Part Two as a sub-theme to explain that he had become a Marxist scholar and Pan-African activist before he returned to Africa in 1947. His application of Marxist principles to African reality revealed to him a society with a class structure that he initially believed could be arrested in its development to enable a quicker transition from the colonial society to 'a socialist society in which each would give according to his ability, and receive according to his *needs'*. See *Revolutionary Path*, p.161. This emphasis on arresting the crystallization of classes in African society on the premise of state-led industrialization process tolerated private enterprise only as a dispensable partner in development. State-led industrialization, prosecuted from above, was then in vogue internationally.

The coup against him and the derailing of the state-led industrialization process in favour of private enterprise necessitated a change of perspective in favour of *emphasizing* the class struggle to *directly* destroy the bourgeois classes in armed struggles. This intensification of the class struggle in the mind of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was not the *initiation* of it but just as stated – an *intensification* of it. He had waged the class struggle by way of seeking to arrest the continued development of classes and, therefore, abolish them but had failed. He regretted ever being so soft with the bourgeoisie and the neo-colonial surrogates. That was his only important regret. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's consistent struggle for Pan-Africanism under the banner of Scientific Socialism was consistent but not without problems and difficulties.

Before these considerations we explore Prof. Shivji's view of Pan-Africanism in terms of his prescription of a focus on the political struggles against subjugation and domination on the continent as the concern of Pan-Africanism. Prof. Prah's reaction to this in terms of his peripheral acknowledgement of those political struggles and preference to multiculturalism – which goes abstract with its concepts of majorities and minorities in the African context but concrete on African-Americans, German-Americans and Italian-Americans in the United States context – is also evaluated. In the final rounds we raise issues with the conception of the Pan-African Project as one without direction under a particular ideological searchlight but rather under some so-called universal principles that can be detected as the limited gains of centuries of mass struggles in various countries.

We intend to leave the reader with the understanding that in the Shivji-Prah Debate, Prof. Prah has failed to provide us with a total concept of Pan-Africanism in our era. Such a concept embraces territoriality and raciality as well as the scientific socialist ideology in its definition – for, the question of race is better appreciated within the context of the class struggle. Hence, by this total concept we have within the African Nation all who, irrespective of race and cultural differences, have established their homes in Africa over the centuries and have established their living on the continent's land and its resources not as individuals but as groups. So that we have all shades of Black *Africans*, all shades of Arab *Africans*, Indian *Africans*, Boer *Africans* or Afrikaners as well as Half-Casts and Arabized and Europeanized *Africans* and *Africans* of the Diaspora making up the African Nation. African society, like American society, is now a historical multicultural, multi-racial and multi-ethnic society out of which forces of revolution seek to integrate the three main cultural strands with the humanist egalitarian principle of traditional African society as the basis of a dominant ideology for reconstruction.

PART TWO

UNDERSTANDING SHIVJI AND PRAH

I

To begin with Prof. Issa Shivji, he starts with a statement that identifies the mode of analysis he employs in his paper. As a process of identification, the statement distances the analysis from the mode of conspiracy theories and processes of economics as well as its mechanical reduction to the mode of production. It further distances the analysis from that which portrays a periodization in terms of stages of history whereby the march of progress of Western civilization is rendered as the essence of events. That is negative identification – stating what the analysis is not. For its positive identification, stating what the analysis is, it is described as one that sees a pattern in the major shifts and changing continuities in their complexity and variability – a pattern of capitalist accumulation over a long period that requires some periodization in its presentation.

The analysis shows a bifurcation of the process of capitalist accumulation into accumulation by appropriation and accumulation by capitalization. With accumulation by appropriation he means acts of plunder, privation and invasion of the wealth and human resources of the non-capitalist spaces of the world involving unequal exchange as well as the annihilation of the civilizations therein. Within this aspect of the bifurcation it is all rivers of blood and rivers of gold directed at capitalization at the metropole. He also equates this accumulation type with primitive accumulation but not until he differentiates it from the time-specific meaning that Marx renders it. Accumulation by capitalization means to him that accumulation which results from equal exchange. Thus defined, the analysis conceives accumulation as endemic to capitalism throughout its existence – the bifurcation being the necessary condition for its life.

Hence, the analysis rejects suggestions that capitalism is self-contained as it claims Marx does in his portrayal of capitalism. Capitalism, for it, inexorably requires space outside its own area if it is to survive. Prof. Shivji illustrates this with a thesis that maps out the development of capitalism from the city-state to the nation-state, from the nation-state to the colonial state, from the colonial state to the continental colonial state, and from this latter to dissolution of the hierarchical system of nation-states in this era of globalization.

On the periodization of his presentation, Prof. Shivji says that to periodize the processes of capitalist accumulation is a hazardous undertaking since they overlap and intermingle in such a way that incipient ones within the old are not recognized on time while the old ones persist even when they have ceased to be of use. This self-awareness informs his periodization of the African encounter with Europe. First of all, he sees a general period of four centuries of the processes of accumulation spanning the term 1475 to 1825. Secondly, he sees within that period two particular periods. The first of these periods appears to be up to 1500 while the second occupies the 1500 to 1825 period. He also appears to approve the period 1780 to 1840 as the inception of the industrial revolution.

To justify accumulation, the West constructs ideologies, religions, cultures and customs centrally based on *race*, according to Prof. Shivji. Even geography is constructed as such. The essence of the racist construct is to inculcate a sense of being a property in the victim. Outside the West, that construct is used to divide and separate the colonized people from each other lest they harm themselves. Thus, the analysis projects a scene of primary and perpetual concern with capitalist accumulation bearing a bifurcation on the basis of which a racist ideological superstructure is erected.

Prof. Shivji says that this analytical framework forms the context within which he locates the genesis of the grand narrative of nationalism and Pan-Africanism. According to him, this grand narrative shows some five centuries of history as the period when the West did not only construct its own story but also the story of the Rest – that is, the rest of the world including Africa.

In this construction, Prof. Shivji portrays a panoramic scene of destruction of trade routes together with the great Islamic civilizations and centres of learning of Timbuktu in West Africa and Kilwa in East Africa. Treasuries were looted in the process. This is dated to the last quarter of the 15th century. The Portuguese expeditions had specific instructions to both eliminate the Muslim traders and Christianize the 'natives'. In the next period between the 16th and 19th centuries the slave trade in Blacks dominated the trade between Africans and Europeans in service of sugar and cotton plantations that fed the industrial revolutions from the Americas.

The treatment of these slaves set in motion a resistance movement that conducted itself in ideologies that borrowed elements from the ideologies of domination. Hence, with the latter being racist in content the ideologies of resistance became racist. Blacks sought death for the Whites. It is from this resistance that Prof. Shivji traces the roots of Pan-Africanism which appears

initially as racial nationalism. At this point the narrative skips straight to the 20th century and discourses on this racial nationalism as championed by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and the territorial nationalism of Marcus Garvey. Dr. Du Bois is portrayed as seeking accommodation of Blacks *within* White structures for equal racial treatment (citizenship). Garvey on the other hand is portrayed as seeking a separate racial space for Blacks in a Back to Africa movement.

Prof. Shivji deems it important to keep in mind that throughout its evolution Pan-Africanism has been an essentially anti-imperialist ideological and political movement. And both Dr. Du Bois and Garvey did not question the boundaries set by the dominant political and social constructs – White supremacy and colonially carved borders respectively. He is however silent on what happened to Garvey's movement while he states that Dr. Du Bois organized a series of Pan-African Congresses attended by a few African-Americans, African-Caribbean and continental Francophone Africans. Between the war years the Congresses were concerned with racial equality, equal treatment and accommodation in existing structures or citizenship, for short.

While not giving us the composition of the 5th Pan-African Congress of 1945, Prof. Shivji tells us that it marks the turning point in the history of Pan-Africanism when, with George Padmore and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as its moving spirits, the unambiguous demand for liberation from colonialism is made – thus giving birth to nationalism. It is at this point that important questions are raised at the Congress as to whether the character of this nationalism should be based on the separate colonially-created borders or across borders. These in turn raise questions about citizenship or race if the borders are to be the basis and whether the African Diaspora is to be included if it should be across the borders. And, again, if it should be across borders the place of Arab inclusion is to be determined. The latter raises the racial/cultural question in the Pan-African context. Even years after independence these remain hot issues, so says Prof. Shivji.

The post-independence era sees the triumph of nationalism based on borders, or what Prof. Shivji calls territorial nationalism, with the achievement of sovereignty. Racial nationalism also triumphs with the achievement of citizenship in the United States (where even the President is now a Black, a reactionary one at that). But at this point, Prof. Shivji says, Pan-Africanism develops a new bifurcation as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah declares continued commitment to across-border Pan-Africanism for total liberation and unification of Africa with the support of George Padmore. The bifurcation spreads out into Conferences of Independent States and All-African Peoples' Conferences. The former later develops into the statist Organization of African Unity and the latter, made up of national liberation movements and other grass root organizations like trade unions, lapses into the shadows of the former in an increasing eclipse.

It is important at this stage to pause a little to clear our minds on what Prof. Shivji means by territorial nationalism. When he says above that both Dr. Du Bois and Garvey operate within the boundaries set by the dominant political

and social constructs he means, for example, that Garvey seeks to operate *within* the borders demarcated by the colonial powers but necessarily not *across* them, disregarding them. Hence, when he talks about territorial nationalism he implies this Garveyist conception which pigeon-holes the African people in balkanized states. This is confirmed in his paper *Mwalimu's Non-Alignment and Pan-Africanism in Relation to the Tasks of the Post-Neo-Liberal Generation*. It is different from the *across*-borders territorial nationalism, which seeks the abolition of the colonial borders or their reduction to state/regional boundaries as in a federation like Nigeria, and as represented in the visions of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. Julius Nyerere. In this sense, Prof. Shivji is consistent – displays an exact use.

Now, in his *Mwalimu's* paper, just referred to, Prof. Shivji says that Dr. Nkrumah's declaration of Ghana's independence as being incomplete unless it is linked up with the liberation of the entire African continent leads to the creation of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee based in Dar es Salaam. In spite of this common commitment to the Pan-African Project, he says, Dr. Nkrumah and Dr. Nyerere differ in their methods. Nyerere sees a dilemma in committing both to nation-building and development within the balkanized or nation-state and to the Pan-African Project at the same time. He believes that these demands on the Pan-Africanist conflict. But Prof. Shivji believes that they more than conflict as can be seen in the statist discourse on African unity and integration or disintegration which buries the vision of Pan-Africanism. He does not tell us what the content of Nkrumah's view is, vis-á-vis Dr. Nyerere's dilemma, but in his *Mwalimu's* paper he suggests that Nyerere later concedes to Dr. Nkrumah.

In the midst of this tension, imperialism exploits the situation to orchestrate assassinations and coups d'état to which Patrice Lumumba, Amilcar Cabral, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and others fall prey. On Dr. Nyerere's part, he becomes pre-occupied with his survival. Thus, though these Pan-Africanists understand that in the present state of affairs no single African state can, on its own, develop without African unity their efforts at total liberation and unification are thwarted and buried, thanks to imperialism and their own lack of consensus on approach. Prof. Shivji explains that the twenty five years of the period of these Pan-Africanists are the period of the contention between accumulation by capitalization and accumulation by appropriation. With the Pan-Africanists out of the way, the accumulation by appropriation side of the capitalist equation assumes the ascendancy once more with greater imperialist vim. It is at this stage that Prof. Shivji takes us into the period of neo-liberalism with the emergence of the compradorial classes.

This is the era when the imperialist media welcomes what they call a new breed of African leaders, allies in the imperialist appropriation project. The project is directed at reversing the nationalist project of accumulation by capitalization which is pursued as schemes variously labelled socialism or self-reliance or modernization. It uses the compradorial classes – the local state or private merchant capital – as its instrument. Through the channel of trade, self-serving aid and debt, the compradorial classes facilitate the rapacious exploitation of natural resources and surpluses of the working

people to fill the centres of imperialist capitalization. This process absorbs and aborts the nationalist attempts at autocentric development. The project spans the Golden Age of Capitalism (1945 – 1971) *within* which the nationalist attempts are made. By this, Prof. Shivji shows the tension between accumulation by appropriation and accumulation by capitalization within an overlapping periodization.

Attributing the defeat of the nationalist project of accumulation by capitalization to the lack of the means – that is, autonomous economic space and political self-determination – as well as historical time and opportunity to master accumulation as the driving force, the nationalists generally do not construct *alternative ideologies and institutions* for their project. Afflicted, through education, with the colonial master's theories, culture and history, the nationalists operate on the principle of the atomist individual bearing equal rights. This principle informs their notions of nationalism, sovereignty, self-determination and citizenship. It restricts them to their colonially-determined borders; for, by that principle the individual state struggles it out alone. In the African circumstance, this lack of unity among the states denies them the autonomous economic space and true self-determination; for which reason Prof. Shivji holds that 'national liberation continues to be the historical agenda' (*Mwalimu's* paper).

He expands on this with the explanation – paraphrasing Amilcar Cabral – that national liberation means a people's reclaim of their right of liberating the process of their development of national productive forces from imperialist domination. This involves, he says, the fundamental reconstruction of the structure of the economy and re-organization of the state. Under imperialist and capitalist domination none of these can be done. He concludes with conviction that under imperialist domination either one succumbs to neo-colonialism, capitalism, state capitalism or takes the path of socialism. In the period of neo-liberalism, he states in the *Mwalimu's* paper that Africa is not colonized but national liberation is aborted as imperialist powers not only use consultants to make policies for Africa but also that they sit 'in the decision-making processes of all strategic ministries from planning, through finance to central banks' and thrust policies down the throat of politicians, including parliamentarians, with the use of loans, aid and budget support as carrots and their withdrawal as stick.

In the current situation, strategically-speaking, 'the tension of the nationalist period between accumulation by capitalisation and accumulation by appropriation has been resolved in favour of the neo-liberal primitive accumulation', Prof. Shivji says. Even pockets of *capitalist* accumulation by capitalization are destroyed through deindustrialization while the few achievements of social services in education, health, water, old age pensions and other public services are commoditized under such policies as cost sharing and outsourcing. What he calls imperialist capitals grab African land, minerals, water, flora and fauna with the support of imperialist states and a supposed donor-community. To underscore this support is the process of militarization of Africa through the erection of military bases (AFRICOM) on the continent and around it. This neo-liberal attack on radical nationalism is

economic as well as political, cultural and intellectual in its manifestation. In the face of these developments, the need for African unity dawns on many conscious Africans. It is a new realization.

In this new realization, there is an insurrection of Pan-Africanist ideas in a direction to revisit or reconstruct Pan-Africanism and address it as the unfinished project of national liberation from imperialism for the emancipation of the African working people from capitalist hegemony. Prof. Shivji refers to this as a 'new Pan-Africanism'. By it, a fundamental change involving all across the colour and national lines is projected. In the *Mwalimu's* paper, he is concerned with a conceptualization of the 'new Pan-Africanism' through a definition of the concept of national liberation. He, first of all, sees the liberation component to mean liberation from imperialism. Secondly, the national component refers to the African Nation in the Pan-African Nation sense as opposed to the limited sense of the territorial nation. To avoid confusion let us remember that when he talks about 'territorial' he means the space of a balkanized state as distinguished from the *continental* space. He claims that though Dr. Nkrumah and Dr. Nyerere both make this point, with them it is neither this explicit nor do they even state it as a reconceptualization of the concept of a nation. They have the European concept of it.

The European concept, he says, conflates the nation with the state; and when we listen to him more carefully it is conflated with country as well. For the avoidance of doubt let us quote how he puts it directly thus: 'Earlier debates on the concept of nation remained imprisoned in the European history of conflating nation with *state*. So, for example, even where Mwalimu and other African leaders realised that the so-called African *countries* did not constitute a nation, they sought to address this issue through various theories of nation-building.' Italics are ours. We see at one breath the conflation of nation with state and at another the conflation of nation with country. There is some confusion here unless a country is conflated with a state. But in his use of state during his discourse on the O.A.U. as a statist organization his meaning has more to do with the superstructural organ for the exercise of power than with the country in which that organ is situate. And given that in the colonial situation where the state is not necessarily situate in the colony (country) – as we find, for instance, in the French colonial system, more or less – any such conflation creates conceptual problems. This extends to conceptual problems for Prof. Shivji's conception of Pan-Africanism.

Before we elaborate on those problems let us look at his elaboration of the 'new Pan-Africanism'. In the *Mwalimu's* paper, he has a concept of a state that is a liberation movement *in power* to complete national liberation which targets imperialism as the enemy. This is a different type of state. He does not detail the content of the difference. Is it different from the national liberation movements Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. Julius Nyerere led? Yes. It is like the one that Amilcar Cabral projects. Prof. Shivji proposes the Cabralian concept as a good point of departure. By that concept, an independent African state remains a liberation movement if it is to be independent. 'Cabral said that "so long as imperialism is in existence, an independent African state must be a

liberation movement in power, or it will not be independent'', he quotes Cabral and we also quote him. How do we understand this? That a liberation movement in *an* African country creates a different state *there* and remains anti-imperialist in order to be independent? No. Consider his Pan-African civil society concept.

Prof. Shivji projects a Pan-African civil society as a *political* arena *outside* the neo-colonial state which it must engage with. We understand this as the setting in motion of a political liberation movement *independent* of the state but engaged with it. These are his exact words: 'we have to make Pan-Africanism a category of intellectual thought, on the one hand, and work towards creating a *Pan-African civil society*, as a *political* arena *outside* the state but in *engagement* with it, on the other.' All italics are supplied. Clearly, a Pan-African civil society is to be contrasted with the civil society within borders as it cuts across the borders. Within that society, Prof. Shivji makes the *working people* the agency for bringing Pan-Africanism about. He declares:

> The question that the present generation faces is both one of the road to Pan-Africanism – that is whether through regional unities or continental unity – and the social agency for bringing it about … African societies are much more differentiated than they were at the time of independence. This means that we have to look at the agency in a much more differentiated way. Can the African state, with its compradorial ruling classes, really be the agency to lead the process of Pan-African unity? I have my doubts … I suggest that objectively the historical agency for a Pan-African revolution is the working people of Africa. I am using the term 'working people' in Rodney's sense. Working people is a configuration of social class which finds its roots in the political economy of accumulation by dispossession based on old and new forms of plunder, expropriation and financial circuits … The working people is still the agency-in-itself; for it to become agency-for-itself, we need an insurrection of Pan-African political ideas in all its dimensions and comprehensiveness.

With all this said, Prof. Shivji raises the question as to where to begin from. He does not point at the working people of *today* but implicitly at the *next generation* of the working people when he suggests that 'the place to begin is in the realm of ideas, at the site of the generation of ideas – schools and universities – and dissemination of ideas – media.'

We are now finally poised to determine his concept of the African Nation. When he puts the question as to who constitutes the African Nation for the purposes of national liberation (or who an African is for the purposes of Pan-Africanism) some of the difficulties we experience initially appear cleared; for, it is clear that his concept of the African civil society is an across-border conception that is also multi-racial. That bears the implication of continental territoriality in consonance with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's conception. Listen to what he says appreciatively of Tajudeen Abdel Rahman: 'Tajudeen kept the universal torch of Pan-Africanism alive. I say universal because for Tajudeen Pan-Africanism was NOT sub-Saharan only, or black only, or Muslim or Christian or Yoruba or Ogoni only. It was truly Pan-Africanist. He wouldn't

give in to culturalism or in to what Nyerere once called, these territorial divisions caused by ''imperialist vultures''.' Those who represent racial and cultural exclusion he identifies in the persons of Prof. Kwesi Kwaa Prah, Prof. Chinweizu Ibekwe Chinweizu and Bankie Foster Bankie. It is this categorization that sets the conflagration, with Prof. Kwesi K. Prah firing from the angle of racial, cultural and territorial exclusivity.

II

Prof. Kwesi K. Prah advocates a Pan-Africanism restricted to Africa South of the Sahara, geographically speaking. He excludes Arabs and Arabized Blacks from the Pan-African Project. In this way, he employs not skin pigmentation for his act of exclusivity but history and culture. He is categorical that Arabs, in spite of the number of years that they have been on the continent, are not African. So also are the Indians, Lebanese, Malays and Boers who, for now, require the boundaries of their cultures to blend with and interpenetrate African cultures to become African; until then they are not, being only citizens, legal entities. By this procedure, Blacks of the Diaspora who have lost their language, culture and/or history can only return to the continent not in the conceptual garments of an African but as citizens requiring acculturation – although he acknowledges their roots from the continent.

In his review of Prof. Prah's *Beyond the Color Line: Pan-African Disputations*, Ager Dimah outlines Prof. Prah's commitment to the economic and political goal of African unity and tells us that he makes the determination of the question 'who is an African?' the prime condition for any meaningful discussion of African unity. In his own *Without African Unity there is No Future for Africa* Prof. Prah states that there are two formulae for African unity: either the continentalist or historical-cultural formula. Whereas the former bases the Pan-African Project primarily on the *geographical* unity of the continent, the latter is primarily based on the unity of the African *people,* he says. He sees the latter as more meaningful than the former. According to him, this former has the weakness of not contending with the fact that the Arab north has aspirations for an Arab Nation away from the African people.

Prof. Prah uses a criterion that we need to pay strict attention to. In his *On Records and Keeping Our Eyes on the Ball*, the African is determined not only by their history and culture but also their willingness to *see themselves* as African. He says that there are some people in Africa who do not want to be known as and called Africans. These people do not have African cultures and live in a caste-like relationship with Africans. Some have African roots but through their *Arabization* they are now Arabs. Such people are even prepared to go to war against Africans. Listen to him quietly: 'In North Sudan most of the people who describe themselves as Arabs are historically Arabized Nubians; Africans who have been Arabized. *They have become Arabs*. Some have been ready to go to war against Africans to promote Arabism.' Italics are supplied. By this criterion, how do we place the African-American?

The African-American does not speak a single African language. He is a *Westernized* being employed in the Marine and elsewhere to fight the West's

war against the rest of us. His history is *now* the history of America. In this culture-specific sense and on the strength of Prof. Prah's criterion, the Diaspora of African-Americans cannot be captured as *African in concept*: at best they can only be *citizens* here in Africa just like the Indians, Lebanese, Malay and Boers. They have *become* strangers – Americans. This might appear to be understanding Prof. Prah too far. In fact, he explains that continental Africans share homogeneity of religious systems and symbolism as well as rituals with Africans in the Americas – the religious systems bear at the centre of ancestor veneration. More than this, these systems are defined by expressive visual art forms, dance and recognizable rhythms. But these are shared with the Arabized Nubians too.

Having made history and culture the 'prime points of definition of Africanness', Prof. Prah explains that 'colour is no basis for defining an African'. Certainly, the Arabization of the Nubian is a cultural event within historical space. It has nothing to do with biological change. Till today the Nubians remain black just as Westernization leaves the African-American black. In addition to that we find among even non-continental Arabs, Israelis and Indians people with black skin. By implication, an African may be a white or yellow person: what qualifies him is his historico-cultural nurturing – he speaks fine Hausa, for instance; he venerates his ancestors in exquisite performance of appropriate rituals; his dance steps are impeccably Hausa in form and content; and even corrupt if he is a comprador bourgeois. But saying that does not prevent Prof. Prah from attributing colour to the African.

He asks Prof. Shivji whether on the basis of visible *biological* traits one can confuse a Chinese for an Indian or a Chinese for a European. Meanwhile, he adds that in 'the Afro-Arab borderlands one cannot always make out an Arab and an African on the basis of colour'. And yet Prof. Prah says that 'in a crowd of humans it is invariably easy to pick out those that are Africans'. He does not attribute this to their visible exhibition of *history* and *culture* but to the 'advantage of *colour* and high visibility'. This is his direct statement of it: the 'advantage of colour and high visibility is such that in a crowd of humans it is invariably easy to pick out those that are Africans.' May it not occur that the supposed Africans are in fact non-continental Arabs? Or they may exhibit no relevant history and no relevant culture? This is why Prof. Shivji sees that in Prof. Prah the question of colour often gets reduced to the biological rather than the historical and cultural.

It is clear to us that Prof. Kwesi Prah's handling of the question of race is at best not clear. It oscillates between the biological and the historico-cultural. And this is understandable. For, in the space of history, the biological and historico-cultural assume dialectical relations. The caste system that Prof. Prah rightly abhors is a biologic-historico-cultural social phenomenon that condemns a person *born* into a particular family to a status of *cultural* inferiority and neglect while another person is *born* into a particular family to a status of *cultural* superiority over *historical* space. So also the royal families are *born* to live a life apart from the people. And on the basis of race have millions of people been murdered or enslaved. In these sets of circumstances, *consciousness* of the colour of one's skin becomes an enduring

feature of the psyche. The struggle to accommodate this burden of history manifests in the oscillations we have at hand. Its resolution begins with the elimination of prejudice within the class context.

This naturally draws our attention to the question of social democracy and the working people that Prof. Prah raises in respect of Prof. Shivji's advocacy of popular democracy. But there is the issue of majority and minority cultures that require explication and resolution beforehand. Prof. Prah explains that there are minorities amongst Africans with cultures that have helped the latter. Such minorities may come to regard themselves as Africans. The means of achieving this are not explicitly stated. All the same we have an inkling of them in words and phrases like 'diffusion', 'interpenetration', 'mixing', 'embrace Africans', 'inter-community marriage' and 'permeable cultural and social borders'. This is all in the direction of *becoming* Africans and it is in one breath. In that breath, Prof. Prah says that the minorities 'cannot live among Africans, maintain social distance, practice exogamous and caste-like relations with Africans and become Africans at the same time'. He regrets that 'After more than a century among Africans you could possibly count on two hands the number of inter-community marriages'. Clearly, *becoming* African involves physical *and* cultural absorption.

In the other breath, Prof. Prah suggests to Prof. Shivji not to 'undermine the right of the minorities to their cultures, and the celebration of their cultures in equality and diversity'. He says that 'cultural and universal rights must come equally to all of us; minorities in Africa should be free to choose how they socially evolve so long as the universal rights of others are not violated. They do *not have to become* Africans. To argue otherwise would be *assimilationist*, undemocratic and unhelpful.' Italics are supplied. If so, why this concern with 'diffusion', 'interpenetration', 'mixing', 'embrace Africans', 'inter-community marriage' and 'permeable cultural and social borders'? This is because, according to him, 'cultures are not stagnant or fixed entities. Cultural change is a permanent feature of all societies. No human group has from time immemorial been hermetically sealed, culturally or otherwise.' Do we experience some tension here? Let us address it at once.

Prof. Prah explains that minorities have the right to choose how they evolve. They can choose to develop in the direction of *becoming* Africans. They can also choose to develop in the direction of *not becoming* Africans. In the first case, they achieve all the rights of being African, including the rights of citizenship and 'telling Africans who they are and who they are not'. In the second case, they achieve *only* the rights of citizenship, in which case they understand that not all citizens in Africa are Africans. On the face of it this appears to be a fine statement of principle. Upon a more careful consideration of the issue, however, we will observe that the Indian and Boer minorities on the table are people who have not only lived in Africa for over a century and also been born there but more importantly have developed variants of their ancestral cultures which now mark them out in Indian and Dutch populations as *African*-Indians and *Afrikaners*, respectively. They have not needed Black African culture to make them African. Africa has its cultural variants. Geography has also had a role to play.

Returning to the question of social democracy and the working people, Prof. Prah defines social democracy in terms of *universal ideals* but not as a *class* concept – which latter is what Prof. Shivji does. Tracing the Pan-African movement within the context of the process of capitalist accumulation, Prof. Shivji has defined the working people as the social class agency-in-itself to be transformed into the agency-for-itself to effect the anti-imperialist emancipation of society. Prof. Prah understands and endorses a non-class based definition of what he prefers to call 'democratic socialism'. According to him, social democracy, defined as democratic socialism, sets out these universal ideals: acknowledgement of individual rights, transparent constitutionalism, the rejection of the Marxist-Leninist notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, support for universal adult suffrage, the inclusion of social and economic equality and rights to education, medical care, pensions, employment and *some* measure of social security support for the unemployed and underprivileged. Many of these have been won by the socialist movement but *within* the capitalist and imperialist process of accumulation by both appropriation and capitalization which only grudgingly concedes them. This is not the *fundamental change* that Prof. Shivji calls for when he cries out:

> Humanity stands at cross-roads. *It is crying for fundamental change*. We need an alternative utopia to live by and fight for if we are not to be consumed by the death and destruction wrought by the barbaric system of the last five centuries. The worst of that barbarism has been felt and continues to be endured in Africa.

This is not a call to remain *within* the clutches of capitalism and imperialism. It is the painful cry for emancipation from the roots of our woes – capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Pan-Africanism has long passed the stage of hobnobbing with capitalism and its imperialist and neo-colonialist tentacles. It has long been engaged in a revolutionary war to liberate the continent from capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism under the direction of scientific socialism, a.k.a. social democracy, a.k.a. popular democracy, which offers a fundamental *alternative* to accommodationist democratic socialism, a.k.a. bourgeois democracy-repackaged. Prof. Shivji is not talking about bourgeois democracy, so-called democratic socialism which Prof. Prah seeks to innocuously plant into his mouth. Sure, 'In a reconstructed Pan-Africanism, Africa is calling all ''at the rendezvous of victory …''.

This is where the place of Marxism within the Pan-African Movement comes in handy. And for the first time from the platform of Pan-Africanism, the 5th Pan-African Congress, the issue is spelt out thus: 'We are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support, by our poverty and ignorance, a false aristocracy and a discredited imperialism. We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone … We shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment.' This is quoted from the main resolution of the Congress in a BBC World Service article captioned 'The Story of Africa Between World Wars 1914-45'.

In his *Revolutionary Path*, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who wrote the approved and adopted *Declaration to the Colonial Peoples of the World* issued by the 5th Pan-African Congress, states that 'There had been four previous Pan-African Congresses. These were attended mainly by intellectual and other bourgeois elements of African descent living either in the USA or the Caribbean … The Fifth Pan-African Congress was different. For the first time, there was strong worker and student participation, and most of over two hundred delegates who attended came from Africa. They represented the re-awakening of African political consciousness; and it was no surprise when the Congress adopted *socialism as its political philosophy*.' In the *Declaration* itself he had written, 'We believe in the rights of all peoples to govern themselves. We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic… The Fifth Pan-African Congress, therefore, calls on the workers and farmers of the colonies to organize effectively. Colonial *workers must be in the front lines of the battle* against imperialism'. All these acts and documents transformed Pan-Africanism in 1945 from a movement seeking improvements *within* the imperialist system to one for its overthrow and socialism.

After the Congress, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah tells us, a working committee was set up to organize the implementation of the programme agreed on. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois was its Chairman and Dr. Nkrumah was its General Secretary. Hence, the *Declarations* and resolutions were followed with practical measures to realize them. In this regard, a West African National Secretariat was formed to organize and direct the programme for independence in West Africa; for, the Congress 'discussions and speeches of African delegates representing working class interests in Africa' showed a new militancy and impatience for the practical prosecution of the national liberation struggle. Dr. Nkrumah became Secretary of the National Secretariat which 'became the centre of African and West Indian anti-imperialist activity'. In that capacity, Dr. Nkrumah travelled to France where he discussed the possibility of setting up a 'Union of African Socialist Republics' with some African members of the French National Assembly including Leopold Senghor and Houphouet-Boigny even though, according to him, by socialism they 'meant something very different from the scientific socialism to which I was committed'.

Out of the regular meetings of the West African National Secretariat a vanguard political cadre group was formed 'to train for revolutionary work in any part of the African continent'. It was called 'The Circle'. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was its Chairman. It addressed the imperative need for unification and to organize a vanguard party that pursued scientific socialist principles and was based on workers and peasants. Unification of West Africa was regarded as the first step to continental unity. The use of armed force was considered but as a last resort. Hence, it aimed at maintaining itself as a revolutionary vanguard and the creation of the Union of African Socialist Republics. It saw West Africa as 'a country'. See *The Circle, 1945-47* in *Revolutionary Path*. Within that period, Dr. Nkrumah completed his booklet *Towards Colonial Freedom*. It dissects the colonial question within the Marxist theoretical framework and partly concludes that 'under imperialism war cannot be averted and that a coalition between the proletarian movement

in the capitalist countries and the colonial liberation movement, against the world front of imperialism becomes inevitable'. That was in October, 1947.

Thus, ten years and more before independence in Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had not only developed a Marxist orientation but was already applying Marxist principles in his analysis of social phenomenon as 'a professional revolutionary' of The Circle. Those were the days when, as intellectuals like Prof. Shivji agree in statements like 'In absence of a local bourgeois class worth the name, the agency to build the nation and bring about development would be the state.', social or class differentiation in Africa was less pronounced. A Marxist worth his salt would not, under such circumstances, promote the *intensification* of class differentiation but its amelioration and eventual elimination (See the *Arusha Declaration* of Dr. Nyerere and Dr. Nkrumah's *Dawn Broadcast* in the *Revolutionary Path* p. 151).

It is instructive to note that on the occasion of the launching of his book, *Consciencism – Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonisation*, in 1964 this issue was addressed by some speakers. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah observed an African society with a negligible and severely weak indigenous capitalist class. As a scientific socialist and one who assumed the reigns of power on the crest of worker-peasant agitation against foreign capital, it was not his bent to create a powerful indigenous capitalist class in replacement of foreign capitalists for the same purpose of exploitation that set the worker-peasant agitation on wheels. This is how he puts it in *Africa Must Unite* (1963) at p.119:

> I have already made it clear that colonial rule precluded that accumulation of capital among our citizens which would have assisted thorough-going private investment in industrial construction. It has, therefore, been left to government, as the holder of the means, to play the role of main entrepreneur in laying the basis of the national economic and social environment. If we turned over to private interests the going concerns capitalized out of national funds and national effort, as some of our critics would like to see us do, we should be *betraying the trust of the great masses of our people for the greedy interests of a small coterie of individuals*, probably in alliance with foreign capitalists. Production for private profit deprives a large section of the people of the goods and services produced. If, therefore, we are to fulfil our pledge to the people and achieve the programme set out above, socialism is our only alternative. For socialism assumes the public ownership of the means of production, the land and its resources, and the use of those means in fulfilment of the people's needs. (Italics are supplied.)

With the process that he set in motion aborted in the 1966 coup d'état and with class differentiation intensified, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah revises notes and *intensifies* the class struggle in a *more direct* confrontation. He immortalizes this confrontation with the publications of *Class Struggle in Africa* and *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* as fighting manuals. In a letter to Reba Lewis on December 23, 1969, he does not only announce the completion of the manuscript of *Class Struggle in Africa* but also pointedly targets it at the African bourgeoisie in these deserved terms: 'It exposes this bastard African bourgeoisie.', he writes as quoted in *The Conakry Years: His*

Life and Letters p. 349. Rather than study these as part of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Marxist revolutionary theory and practice, some of us, who have not taken the trouble to study his works out of neglect or laziness, have ruled him out as a latter-day Marxist. This is what we see in Prof. Kwesi Prah's unfortunate passing reference to 'Marxists (including Nkrumah in his final years)'. Who told him that Nkrumah became a Marxist only in his final years?

Less than two months after Kwame Nkrumah's overthrow he writes *African Socialism Revisited* because, as he puts it, the managers of *African Forum* 'were printing silly articles on ''African socialism'', and giving it an unMarxist interpretation…' Also, when it came to his attention that he had been accused of juju while in power, his response was 'Me, a Marxist!' That report was in June, 1966. Refer to *The Conakry Years* pp. 41, 45. At least, he sees himself as a Marxist even before his so-called final years – that is, not to talk about the documentary evidence dating from 1945 to 1965. Nobody who knows what is involved in Marxism will ever dream that it is possible to study it, master it and defend it within a matter of less than two months – especially in its application.

Finally, true Pan-Africanism (Revolutionary Pan-Africanism) has since 1945 been Marxist-oriented. Dr. Julius Nyerere, who describes Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as 'the greatest crusader for African Unity', admits that once Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Marxist light, 'was removed from the African political scene nobody took up the challenge again.' This tells us that Prof. Prah's idea that 'the universe of discourse on Pan-Africanism is marked by a wide spectrum of political hues' betrays a failure on his part to mark out the *authentic* trend from the fifth column mass of Trojan horses that ensured the failure of the Pan-African Project in the 1960s. The *authentic* trend is Revolutionary Pan-Africanism with the Marxist orientation. It has never been a 'politically-neutral philosophy' as Prof. Prah spells out in these terms:

> 'Some pan-Africanists are doubtlessly social democrats, but not all social democrats are pan-Africanists. Some pan-Africanists are right-wing conservatives while others are to the left of social democracy, indeed many have been, or are, Marxists (including Nkrumah in his final years). Indeed, pan-Africanists can be found within the whole spectrum of political colouring.'

This is false. Else the removal of a Marxist would not have crippled the drive.

PART THREE

TOWARDS THE *PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN STATE OF AFRICA*

Which way then, Pan-Africanism? Prof. Shivji tells us that 'In the view of many African scholars, intellectuals and activists, we need to revisit and re-construct the Pan-African project to address *the unfinished task of national liberation from imperialism* and take us beyond to the *emancipation of the working*

people of Africa from the *hegemony of capitalism*.' In his lamentations on this unfinished task, Dr. Ikaweba Bunting, *In Search of a New Africa*, wails:

> In Africa today only the symbols of sovereignty exist. There are flags, seats on the UN General Assembly, heads of state (sometimes more than one), armies, national currencies, ambassadors and Mercedes Benzes.
>
> My belief and hope that the post-colonial African nation could become a liberating institution for African people has been sobered by the reality of dependency. Today, finance and economic policy are controlled and managed directly by the World Bank and the IMF. Political parties, governments and leaders in Africa solicit Western support in order to secure a power-base.
>
> The international creditors control all the assets. The workers and peasants toil and sweat to service debts owed to the international bankers and multilateral agencies. So-called national budgets in many countries are more than 50-per-cent dependent on external financing. Development budgets are at least 90-per-cent dependent on donor funding. In other words, the African state is in receivership and cannot operate unless it gets money to do so from Western donors and financiers (imperialists)…
>
> After 30 years I think African leaders, politicians, and business people, together with the international community, have a moral obligation to come to terms with the fundamental mistake that was made. Millions of men, women and children have withstood repression, torture, deprivation, suffering and death in uprisings, civil wars, border disputes and coups all in the name of nation-building and developing African states in the image and likeness of the industrialized Northern nations. It is too high a price to pay.

In his last interview, Dr. Julius Kambarage Nyerere tells us: 'Let us create *a new liberation movement to free us from immoral debt and neo-colonialism*. This is one way forward. The other way is through Pan-African unity'. When he was asked why his attempt to find a new way foundered on rocks, he tells this story about the World Bank:

> I was in Washington last year. At the World Bank the first question they asked me was `how did you fail?' I responded that we took over a country with 85 per cent of its adult population illiterate. The British ruled us for 43 years. When they left, there were 2 trained engineers and 12 doctors. This is the country we inherited.
>
> When I stepped down there was 91-per-cent literacy and nearly every child was in school. We trained thousands of engineers and doctors and teachers.
>
> In 1988 Tanzania's per-capita income was $280. Now, in 1998, it is $140. So I asked the World Bank people what went wrong. Because for the last ten years Tanzania has been signing on the dotted line and doing everything the IMF and the World Bank wanted. Enrolment in school has plummeted to 63 per cent and conditions in health and

> other social services have deteriorated. I asked them again: `what went wrong?' These people just sat there looking at me. Then they asked what could they do? I told them have some humility. Humility – they are so arrogant!

That was adding salt to injury. It shows the depths to which Africa has sunk since the first generation of Pan-Africanists left the scene in one way or the other. Dr. Nyerere believes that our current independence type makes our exploitation cheaper than during the colonial times. He says that the 'independence of the former colonies has suited the interests of the industrial world for bigger profits at less cost. Independence made it cheaper for them to exploit us. We became neo-colonies. Some African leaders did not realize it. In fact many argued against Kwame (Nkrumah)'s idea of neo-colonialism.' They now exercise economic power without political responsibility. Neo-colonialism is the name Dr. Kwame Nkrumah gives to this African catastrophe and describes it as the last stage of imperialism. Its destruction constitutes the unfinished task of Pan-Africanism.

For the execution of this task, the nation-state ceases to be the space for the struggle. The entire continental space is the new terrain. For the Revolutionary Pan-Africanist, the dilemma of the nation-state versus the African Nation disappears. Their activity assumes Africa as the *country*. Yes, Africa and its islands. Movement within Africa becomes unrestricted. The so-called nation-states' territories are *re-demarcated* to redress the division of ethnic entities across borders to enhance socio-cultural interaction and development. The regrouping of the ethnic entities is then followed with their grouping in regions – each region being made up of two or more ethnicities. The agency for the task ceases to be a nebulous referent simply called the people; it is the working people.

Working simultaneously in each region is the mass movement under a central continental (country) leadership for co-ordinated action to replace every vestige of a neo-colonial power structure anywhere in Africa. The new state *rises* from popular organs to representative ones. Its arms are the All-Africa People's Revolutionary Party, the All-Africa People's Revolutionary Army and the All-Africa People's Revolutionary Government. 'And avoiding beating about the bush, we would call it the Union of African Socialist Republics', Dr. Kwame Nkrumah says. But no, the nation-*states* cannot continue to be *republics*. With the trans-border re-demarcations of their territories to merge with other such territories their *raison d'être* or basis for existence vanishes with them. As re-demarcated territories they cannot be republics.

Rather we would call the new state the People's Republican State of Africa (PRSA). It is the *people* who now build it, not *heads of state*. In this respect, we hasten to acknowledge Prof. Prah's suspicions of the heads of state in his 'Keeping Our Eyes on the Ball (2)' in these set terms:

> I agree that state-led Pan-Africanism is a road to nowhere. This has been the experience of the last 50 years. Too quickly and too easily the leadership of African states subvert the real purposes and agenda

> of Pan-Africanism to suit their own petty and narrow flag and anthem purposes. Some of us have argued that these states, as we have them today, are more part of the problem than the solution.

And the evolutionary formation of these organs of People's Power is a simultaneous process as set forth in Marxist-Nkrumaist thought. Its genesis is in the educational institution – the cradle of the *conscious* working people, the class-for-itself. This evolution takes place alongside and against the neo-colonial state which is to be torn asunder.

The only obstacle to this Pan-African Project is petty-bourgeois fear of the paper tiger – a funny spectacle. The working people in the metropolitan centres of capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism have started to shake themselves up. It is only the start of the long beginning. The United Nations and NATO have exposed themselves in Libya. Their terror finds its antidote in the people's guerrilla movement on a *continental* scale. The armed struggle is just about to begin. Its manual remains Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* and allied bibliography.

Better a relatively small and compact ideologically homogeneous mass movement positioned in every region and poised for action to take us out of capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism *forever* than an ideologically heterogeneous sprawling movement with the set potential to take freedom with the right hand and return it with the left. Dr. Nyerere could say something like this in his last interview:

> Anti-colonialism was a nationalist movement. For me liberation and unity were the most important things. I have always said that I was African first and socialist second. I would rather see a free and united Africa before a fragmented socialist Africa. I did not preach socialism. I made this distinction deliberately so as not to divide the country. The majority in the anti-colonial struggle were nationalist.

On his part, in 1966 Dr. Kwame Nkrumah could say in *The Conakry Years,* p.45: 'Sometimes I sit here and indulge in self-criticism. I think I made two mistakes. I was not tough enough, and I did not pursue socialism fast enough. When I go back it will be different.'

The lesson has been learnt – that is, the *simultaneous* pursuit of political unity and socialism for national liberation from elitist rule. Neo-colonialism is not colonialism. In neo-colonialism we are fighting an internal enemy as well. We cannot afford the luxury of the anti-colonial unity type. Those thinking in the reversed gear must be gently excused. When Prof. Kwesi Kwaa Prah says in 'Keeping Our Eyes on the Ball (2)' that 'I think what is important at this stage for us to get off the ground and going is a cultural movement, a cultural movement which will provide in effect confidence and affirmation for our people with regard to our historical heritage and cultural patrimony' and that 'This is what we have, together with many other people thought of as a *Sankofa Movement*; in other words, the reclamation of values, tenets and institutions of our African heritage' he adds himself to those to be gently excused.

In case you could not see the reversed thought process involved there, he puts it better in these terms: 'Development is *ultimately* a cultural construction. Once this message and its import win the hearts and minds of our people the political implications and requirements will become easily perceptible and a natural evolution towards a political movement will be within our grasp. I am saying that the road to a political movement for unity and African advancement must start in our times with an Africanist cultural and intellectual movement'.

In this way, the dialectical development of African Renaissance with and in the flow of the political struggles and in support of them is made a separate affair that mechanically precedes the political struggles. In that club of the Sankofa Movement are Prof. Chinweizu Ibekwe Chinweizu and Bankie Foster Bankie . It is the club of the so-called anti-continentalists. The so-called continentalists – an aspersion cast against Revolutionary Pan-Africanists by the Sankofa breed – are the inheritors of the Marxist-Nkrumaist Pan-African tendency and who, in accordance with Consciencism, rather see development as being ultimately an economic but not a cultural construction. Culture is only an element in the superstructure for servicing the economy. Therein resides the philosophical divergence.

Africa awakes!

OBITUARY: The ink on the last word of this paper had scarcely dried up yesterday when Sister Ama Adumea Ohene called for the second time; this time to confirm that Brother Muammar Gaddafi had been killed. She was choked with tears away from Libya several thousands of kilometres South of the Sahara. This morning a resident in Tripoli told the ETV in Ghana in a live interview that people were jubilating in Tripoli because they were afraid not to do so. It reminded us of 1966 in Ghana. An overwhelming majority of Metro TV viewers mourned the fallen African as some predicted that, like Ghanaians after 1966, Libyans might come to regret this event. Meanwhile, commentators have seen the event as the last nail in the coffin of state-led Pan-Africanism. May Brother Gaddafi rest in peace. He died fighting. That is the spirit! (October 21, 2011)

BACK TO CONTENTS

Matters Arising

DR. ABU SAKARA FOSTER

AND

THE DRAMATIC NEO-COLONIAL MENTALITY

(A Symptom of the February 24 Betrayal)

By

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

The second Sunday in the month of February this year ends with the dramatic when Dr. Abumichael Sakara-Foster, a.k.a. Dr. Abu Sakara Foster, the failed Presidential Candidate of the Convention People's Party in the 2012 general elections, declares a policy as 'a fantastic contribution' in a Facebook sort-of-think-tank on his Wall only to be informed by the person he praises that the policy statement is actually that of Governor Guggisburg of the then Gold Coast. The Governor stands in front of the colonial Legislative Council somewhere in the 1920s making a statement of colonial policy to promote oil palm production over cocoa for **export**[159] (but not for internal consumption and industrialization).

[159] The post quotes Guggisburg's speech as follows:

Guggisburg Speech to Legislative Council on the dangers of a mono-crop economy

If the coca boom has done us harm, it will anyway have done us one good thing if it has made everyone realise the danger of depending entirely on one main article of produce. In 1920, 83 percent of our exports consisted of cocoa. Again and again, we have talked of 'all our eggs in one basket'. Verily the truth of this has come home at last! ... What we want is something that will rival cocoa – something that will place us more firmly than ever at the top of the Crown Colony produce ladder. For we must remember that head for head and acre for acre, we are a long way ahead of any other Crown Colony in both trade and revenue. We must maintain that position by finding something new that will compete with their steadily growing new products ... Undoubtedly, the next best product – if not a better one than cocoa – is that of our oil palm. Neglected by everyone except that far-seeing and capable chief Mate Kole and his Krobo farmers, our palm oil and kernel export had dwindled to a few miserable thousand tons a year.

The policy statement contradicts Dr. Sakara-Foster's **inward** direction of produce use and yet he falls for it in great jubilation. The statement does not just call for the revival of oil palm production and the improvement of the method of cultivation as well as provision of 'local centres for decortications and crushing' but **significantly** plans to 'run a railway and more feeder roads through the oil palm belt' – surely to the **harbour** in accordance with colonial transport infrastructural development policy. That policy, with its **outward** direction, links African countries with Europe and America. In the process, African countries are delinked or disconnected from each other in **infrastructure** to consolidate Africa's balkanization.

This conflict in Dr. Sakara-Foster's mind is characteristic. It epitomizes the neo-colonial intellectual's split personality whereby one part of their conscience is reflective of Africa's best self-interest and the other part retains and reproduces the colonial legacy. The Facebook Wall post is clearly entitled **Guggisburg Speech to Legislative Council on the dangers of a mono-crop economy.** Could he fail to see it? Whatever it is, his general endorsement of the statement stems from his Ghanocentric (as opposed to Africocentric) conception of **internal** development that is in accord with the policy statement's thrust of the Gold Coast Crown Colony **competing** with (not complementing) the other African Colonies.

Some Definitions in Discussion

This reproduction of the colonial policy of divide and rule among Africans is not exhibited here only as a regurgitation of something internalized but veritably as one of the seats of the African intellectual's dual personality. The intellectual reinforcement of this internalization is found in an analytical cast of mind that splits phenomenon into atomistic entities existing in the phenomenon not in their interactive integrity but as unconnected wholes within the said phenomenon. Hence, the economic structure of a country, Ghana, in this instance, is treated as an **independent** stratum that can be analysed on its own without a treatment of its interaction with the other strata like social classes and the State-type. This is **economism**.

In their contributions on Dr. Sakara-Foster's Facebook (FB) platform, both Dr. Sakara-Foster and his mentor, Kwamena Essilfie Adjaye, are concerned, for example, with the existing decadent neo-colonial socio-economic system in terms of its **economic** problems. They isolate the economic crisis and seek to

---

Four things we must do:
1 – Take up again our old oil palm cultivation
2 – Improve the method of cultivation
3 – Run a railway and more feeder roads through the oil palm belt
4 – Provide local centres for decortications and crushing.

resolve it as an economic issue (not as an issue of the political economy) to assure the smooth operation of the neo-colonial system as a whole. They try to resolve the crisis **within** the economy by way of permutations of import and export activities without reference to the State-**type**. That is the essence of economism. It does not resolve such crises holistically but in the narrow context of the economy as such.

Hence, Dr. Sakara-Foster, as we observe below, projects a return to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's policies without taking into consideration that those policies are implemented within a nascent **alternative** socio-economic system with its unique State-type growing alongside the decaying inherited colonial state which is impervious to them. The revival of the colonial state legacy after the 1966 coup d'état and the destruction of the nascent State, which was designed to carry out those policies, bar the way for their implementation. State Enterprises emanating from Dr. Nkrumah's policies have proved difficult if not impossible to run successfully **within the revived** neo-colonial system. Policy-types have their State-types.

Efforts to solve problems of a **particular** socio-economic system, that is, putting it to repairs, to assure its smooth operation, but **not to replace** it, constitute **social engineering** of that system. After attributing problems of the economy to lack of confidence, a contributor on Dr. Sakara-Foster's FB Wall suggests repair measures in this way: 'I would have expected; 1. the sacking of all deputy ministers 2. shrinking of government by first joining ministries together and reducing the number of workers, 3. cutting down on all travels and expensive celebrations and then the windfall can be invested in efforts that generate revenue.' This typifies social engineering. It **retains** but does not seek **replacement** of the system.

It is clear from the foregoing that our neo-colonial intellectuals use economistic perspectives in their social engineering of the existing neo-colonial socio-economic system to sustain it in existence. Their palpable failure so far in handling the system is symbolized in Kwamena Essilfie Adjaye's lack of impact on the economy in spite of the litany of economistic platform-types, like Dr. Sakara-Foster's FB Wall, that he performs on whether for *noko fio*[160] or not. This brings us to a substantive treatment of issues raised on Dr. S-Foster's Wall before offering our alternative policy options not for the social engineering of this neo-colonial system but its **replacement**. It is useless. In anticipation we define the **political economy perspective**.

That perspective is founded on materialist dialectics – the philosophical base of historical materialism. It views modern society as a class society. It traces

[160]In Ghanaian parlance, by transliteration, that means 'something small' as applied by the corruptible and corrupt politicians and technocrats as well as the little characters in the public service.

the emergence and nature of the State to the struggle of these classes to assume supremacy over each other to project their social class interest as the definition of 'the national interest'. On the basis of such a 'national interest' all classes are mobilized and organized for production and defence. This so-called national interest is then reflected in the people's material and intellectual culture. The content of even music and architecture hence reflects this class domination of society. In **Consciencism** and **Class Struggle in Africa**, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah explains this clearly.

The special features of this political economy perspective are indicated in the manner society is understood as an **integral** whole wherein every stratum is not only connected to any other stratum but constantly interacts with them. Hence, studying the political economy of the media, for instance, requires their being situated in their relations with all organs of State and civil society. The comprehensive methodology of a political economy perspective enables deep-seated and multifaceted appreciation of social reality. This lends it the reject by guilty dominating classes who are easily exposed in their evil dealings with society. The formal institutions for this reject are our universities as directed on neo-colonial premises.

The absence of this perspective in socio-economic analysis is identified by the manifest shallow exposition exhibited in the analysis which is mono-directional in the treatment of its subject. This immediately recalls our discussion of the economistic perspective that remains in the field of economics and, therefore, displays mono-directionism, if you understand what we mean. In the usages of political economy analysts like Dr. Nkrumah, the economistic perspective is said to be **mechanical** while the political economy perspective is described as **dialectical**. Listening to personalities like Kwesi Pratt and Explo Nani-Kofi the dialectical perspective is undeniable. Dr. Sakara-Foster and Adjaye rather showcase economism.[161]

These seemingly abstract categories are the driving forces that propel scientific thought and unscientific pretentions of thinking. Let us now see how Dr. Abumichael Sakara-Foster finely exhibits the economistic perspective while we get to the substance of his prescriptions on policy.

[161] A typical economistic thinking appears on the Dr. Sakara-Foster FB Wall and is here quoted in part thus: 'The NDCs (sic) signature on the economy is clear and has always been like that anytime they are in power. The economy of a nation is driven by profits. When businesses make profits they employ more people to make more profits, thus creating more jobs. When they post loses (sic) and don't know when they can next make profits they refuse to reinvest. Why should the private sector suffer for the public sector to squander? More taxes on those who create and less on those who consume sends wrong signals that those in control cant (sic) manage. Thus the lack of confidence.' This kind of thinking is finely cast in the **mechanical**: it sees profit as the driver of the economy and yet locates problems of the economy not **in** that all-powerful driver but **in** occasions of NDC ascension to power – suggesting that under NPP rule, for example, no such problems exist.

Dr. Sakara-Foster Speaks

Dr. Sakara-Foster describes his platform as 'a face book page for the exchange of views and social interaction for all Ghanaians'. He explains that 'it is not dedicated to a particular party forum and does not have to conform to any one person's views'. He adds that 'it is not for passing judgement on other people's views or indeed their motivations'. All that is expected of one is to 'contribute what (one has) to say that will make a difference to the issue at hand. It is for readers to read the contributions and make up their minds.' He urges us to 'Remember that no one has monopoly of ideas and integrity.' For him, 'What we have as Ghanaians are **shared values** and our own opinions on issues.' (Emphasis added)

These project something like a think tank into which people drop their ideas and merely read those of others with the view to 'critically examining' them. After such a critical reading one makes up one's mind. Presumably, one's conclusions (that is what making one's mind entails) on those quietly deposited ideas are not to be made known to others. They are to be a guarded secret. It is here difficult to understand how one could undertake a **critical** examination of some ideas without 'passing judgement' on them. That appears to be a neat contradiction in terms. For, to critically examine an idea entails a judgement as to its validity and soundness or otherwise. Whether that judgement is suppressed or not it is a judgement.

But Dr. Sakara-Foster does not **really** intend that one's judgement be kept within one's heart without ventilation. For, he does not only ask Kwamena Essilfie Adjaye to ventilate as to whether his (Dr. Sakara-Foster's) opinion 'sound(s) feasible' (He asks, 'Comrade Kwamena does this sound feasible?'); and, of course, Kwamena gives his critical **blessing**. Indeed, Dr. Sakara-Foster himself passes adoring adulations on Governor Guggisburg's speech extract and offers a critical comment to boot. His real intention is to bar a particular contributor from making particular comments which he, considering himself 'the moderator', finds to be a constitution of 'disruptive tactics' and thus deletes his critical comments from the platform.

That is certainly the double-standards style of the neo-colonial petite-bourgeois politician.

***

We have cited Dr. Sakara-Foster as asserting that 'What we have as Ghanaians are **shared values** and our own opinions on issues.' This assertion, in our **class**-ridden society, smells foul of the reality of contrasting and contradictory values that define the Ghanaian body polity. It is this reality that creates a

schizophrenic situation whereby one's **objective** class position conflicts with their class **origin** – assuring that one could be at a loss as to which conflicting class interest to serve. Certainly, Dr. Sakara-Foster's 'less than 3%' who receive 70% of the public sector wage bill have a value in strikes while the remaining 97% have no utility for them. The system-installed mechanism for robbing the state is the elite's preserve.

That is to raise the ideological question in its definition of state policy. For sure, since **values** are the determinant of ideological direction and the latter defines state policy Dr. Sakara-Foster's ideological direction needs to be understood if we are to appreciate his preferred policy of state. In this respect, what do we glean from the following that he addresses to a contributor on his platform: 'You have described yourself a Marxist of one kind (or) the other, so people want to know how far you are prepared to go in your policies and still keep Ghana democratic?' The contributor actually talks about Marxism-Nkrumaism.[162] Additionally, nobody on the platform but Dr. Sakara-Foster himself raises the issue this way.

Our instant observation discerns an intellectually indecent contrast that Abumichael strikes between Marxist policies and democratic policies. It is the normal bourgeois propaganda device that positions Marxism and democracy as poles apart. Such propaganda clothes 'capitalism' as 'democracy'. So that in asking how far the contributor is prepared to retain democracy in Ghana in his pursuit of Marxist policies Dr. Abumichael Sakara-Foster is in effect asking how **capitalism** could still be accommodated within a Marxist framework. In this respect, his assumption of the current capitalist neo-colonial state as a sacrosanct given that must be retained cannot escape the discerning analyst. He does not seek to replace it.

***

It is **within** this context of capitalist neo-colonialism that he disingenuously calls for the restoration of 'the Nkrumahist path of building a self-reliant home grown economy that has a strong manufacturing sector'. He envisages within that 'Nkrumahist' spirit that with that restoration if Ghana and Ghanaians had retained at least 30% of shares in the operations of 'telecos', which had transferred $260 million in 2013, an equivalent to that percentage would have been saved. While lamenting these losses he regrets 'the potential loss of foreign exchange' from all the glass imported by the real estate industry and

[162] That is how Dr. Kwame Nkrumah characterizes his thought system in June Milne, **Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years**, p. 196 where 'Marxism-Nkrumaism' is interchangeably used with 'Nkrumaism'. We have preferred the use of 'Marxism-Nkrumaism' to 'Nkrumaism' since 'Marxism-Nkrumaism' is more specific and pre-empts any attempt to position Nkrumaism outside the Marxist or scientific socialist framework.

cries out at deafening pitch 'What if Aboso Glass factory were open?' A significant saving that would be!, he adds.

What are the consequences of this savings-loss due to the fact that 'the structure of the entire economy has deviated from Nkrumahist path of building a self-reliant home grown economy that has a strong manufacturing sector'? Abumichael projects an entrenchment of trade deficit, high import bill that leads to continued cedi depreciation, crippled capacity to arrest rising cost of living and erosion of 'capacity to pay higher wages'. In other words, the erudite agronomist teaches that the solution to the neo-colonial crisis can only be found in the **extra-systemic** policies of Nkrumaism. The sacred point, however, is that once upon a time the implementation of such policies was facilitated by an **alternative** State system.

Dr. Sakara-Foster's landing on the correct solution to our neo-colonial existence is, however, **accidental**: he finds no solution **from within** the capitalist neo-colonial system that he loves so much; he looks around and finds in history policies that make economic sense; not appreciating that those policies required at **that time** an **alternative** operational State system for their implementation due to the impervious nature of the colonial state legacy he thinks, without the benefit of this valuable lesson in Nkrumaist history, that that impervious system could be relied on for their implementation. This is categorized as **mechanical** or **metaphysical** thinking situate in **non-dialectical** manipulation of the thinking process.

What Do We Do?

The logic of our African history hence suggests that the solution to our neo-colonial state of existence is not found **within** that existence's system of servitude to imperialism through its surrogate system of capitalist neo-colonialism. The focus of change, so to say, is not on the social engineering of the plainly decadent system of neo-colonialism but on its **replacement** by way of a consistent exploitation of democratic opportunities, their enhancement through class struggles in the streets, at the workplace, in the farm, in the classrooms of institutions of learning and right at the centre of neo-colonial state survival – the executive and its administrative apparatus, the legislature, the judiciary and the security forces of repression – to build an independent socialist socio-economic system. It is not the duty of Marxist-Nkrumaists to **repair** this rotten system. Theirs is to uproot it from African soil without trace.[163]

[163] This requires building a socialist alternative system of values, thought and practices reflected in new institutions of state and society in all fields of democratic human endeavour – from agriculture, industry and politics to the arts and sciences. This is a total war on neo-

Such struggles, in their democratic and revolutionary implications, are, therefore, the **crucible** within which the required and necessary alternative set of institutions and practices are fashioned out for the systematic replacement of **this** decadent system that stultifies our march forward as proud Africans showcasing once again to the world of humanity that African Personality whose achievements now lie in the debris of historical distortion but are nevertheless being unearthed to the deep admiration of all who desire to know about African creativity. At this great juncture in African historical redefinition in the sands of our inheritance let the Abumichaels stop flinging at us neo-colonialist-inspired aspersions of being 'extremists' and 'disgruntled', we, who have assumed the great mantle of Marxism-Nkrumaism. Surely, such aspersions are always cast on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

The rise of African people across the African continent and the Diaspora against this system of injustice and state decadence, where Dr. Sakara-Foster and his ilk are left with nothing but self-acknowledged monetary measures to hold the system but temporarily, is inevitable. No number of name-callings can abort this inevitability. The suppression, through deletion of these expressions of finality to the neo-colonial system from the 'Abu Sakara Foster' FB Wall, does not stop this tide of history. That is a tide the concrete details of whose unfolding can only remain in and be determined in the practical experiences of the African masses and their revolutionary intellectuals in the class battles already fought and those ahead. These battles for African redemption remain defined in the golden words of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Africa, who never dies in the living memory of African patriots, thus:

> The African Revolution, while still concentrating its main effort on the destruction of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, is aiming at the same time to bring about a radical transformation of society. It is no longer a question of whether African Independent States should pursue a capitalist or non-capitalist path of development. The choice has already been made by the workers and peasants of Africa. They have chosen liberation and unification; and this can only be achieved through armed struggle under socialist direction. For the political unification of Africa and socialism are synonymous. One cannot be achieved without the other.
>
> "Peoples' capitalism", "enlightened capitalism", "class peace", "class harmony" are all bourgeois capitalist attempts to deceive the workers and peasants, and to poison their minds. A "non-capitalist road", pursued by a "united front of progressive forces", as some suggest, is not even practical politics in contemporary Africa. There are only two

---

colonialism which must be infiltrated simultaneously to shorten its life span. This war of construction and deconstruction involves selfless service to humankind, sacrifice and suffering.

> ways of development open to an Independent African State. Either it must remain under imperialist domination via capitalism and neo-colonialism; or it must pursue a socialist path by adopting the principles of scientific socialism. It is unrealistic to assert that because industrialisation is in its infancy, and a strong proletariat is only beginning to emerge, that it is not possible to establish a socialist state. History has shown how a relatively small proletariat, if it is well organised and led, can awaken the peasantry and trigger off socialist revolution. In a neo-colonialist situation, there is no half-way to socialism. Only policies of all-out socialism can end capitalist-imperialist exploitation.
>
> Socialism can only be achieved through class struggle. In Africa, the internal enemy – the reactionary bourgeoisie – must be exposed as exploiters and parasites, and as collaborators with imperialists and neo-colonialists on whom they largely depend for the maintenance of their positions of power and privilege. The African bourgeoisie provides a bridge for continued imperialist and neo-colonialist domination and exploitation. The bridge must be destroyed. This can be done by worker-peasant solidarity organised and directed by a vanguard socialist revolutionary Party. When the indigenous bourgeoisie and imperialism and neo-colonialism are defeated, both the internal and external enemies of the African Revolution will have been overcome, and the aspirations of the African people fulfilled.
>
> As in other areas of the world where socialist revolution is based largely on the peasantry, African revolutionary cadres have a tremendous task ahead.
>
> Kwame Nkrumah, **Class Struggle in Africa**, pp. 84-85

It is thus not the duty of the African Marxist-Nkrumaist revolutionary to look for lasting policy solutions **for** neo-colonialism when its upholders themselves cannot find those solutions since the system is too rotten to be salvaged on the basis of long term solutions generated from **within** it. The African revolutionary, imbued with the desire to achieve meaningful democracy where the masses of the people truly exercise power on their leaders, dedicates themselves to service, sacrifice and suffering to achieve the popular democracy that scientific socialism embeds within the parameters of Marxism-Nkrumaism. To this end, the question that is uppermost in the mind of the African revolutionary is the organization of the African mass. Probably you added that 'because the organization of the masses decides everything!'

For reasons of brevity, we have not discussed Dr. Sakara-Foster's unco-operative stance within the CPP for re-organization in the service of Nkrumaism, even as he prefers to understand it without its Marxist connotations, while he mobilizes for ideas to help the NDC government manage the neo-colonial economy. Could nepotism be the determinant of all

this, apart from Samia Nkrumah's organizational lapses? Whatever it is, his miserable performance in the last elections and Samia's loud presidential ambitions have so dented the *noko fio* and double-standards politician's confidence that he finds succour in the innocent praises of those he calls 'ordinary people' who sparsely populate his Facebook 'comment' and 'like' list. At the end of his ideologically narrow and dictatorial platform on the economy his summary and statement of triumph over so-called extremists receives 12 'likes' and 3 'comments' as at the time of concluding this article on February 22, 2014. Ayikoi Otoo calls this *gbeshie*. It was posted on the 16th instant. It runs thus:

> Noted good public discussions on the economy this week. Clear focus on growing the economy to increase tax base as a prerequisite to adequate salaries and expanded delivery of services than (sic) improve standard of living. Public awareness of size and efficiency of government as a bane to economy is being debated constructively. Your voices are being heard one way or another in public domain, do not be afraid to call into discussions on radio stations. If you don't call the serial callers have it all to themselves. Make your voices heard!!! Ordinary people matter!!! You are the silent majority. Don't allow the extremists to drown you out. You (sic) opinion matters...

Down with the February 24 1966 Great Betrayal!

Postscript

Dr. Abumichael Sakara-Foster, a.k.a. Dr. Abu Sakara Foster, is now invited to delete this piece **also** from wherever he might be reading it. What a neo-colonial Presidential material!

February 22, 2014.

BACK TO CONTENTS

Matters Arising

PACIFISM AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF VIOLENCE

(A Rejoinder to Nyeya Yen's Article 'Why I have become a Pacifist')

by

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

I am a little surprised at you for suggesting that I should accept an offer to teach. You do not seem to know me yet. You forget that I am a professional revolutionary: the gun without the pen is useless and the pen without the gun is even more useless. My way lies in Action and Struggle. And in struggling and performing these actions, I can teach others in that way....The path I have taken is a lonely path, full of thorns and thistles, but it must be traversed....Do not forget what I have been saying, that the seemingly disastrous state of affairs in Africa today is simply the prelude or, shall I say, the grand rehearsal of the revolution that is to overtake Africa. We must all, joyfully, be prepared...History warns and urges me on, philosophy tells me to be cautious, but scientific socialism tells me to damn all and fight on, adding my quota to the eventual destruction of capitalism and imperialism and to the ushering in of man's total emancipation, where racial discrimination of any kind will be a criminal offence and those who practise racialism shall be considered madmen. We shall overcome - Dr. Kwame Nkrumah writes.

From June Milne's *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years – His Life and Letters* (1990), pp. 294, 73, 342, and 234 respectively.

Background to the Discourse

This discourse traces its origin to Nyeya Yenmaligu Yen's publication of his article **Why I have become a Pacifist** on his Facebook (FB) wall. A few comments were offered by others on the wall expressing appreciation of that article. We rather felt that readers did not seem to be aware of the historical dangers in the **pacifist** stand that Nyeya Yen sought to propagate under the banner of the liberalistic assertion of participation in the revolutionary struggle being a matter of **choice** and hence not a **necessity** imposed on the revolutionary. Thus, in turn, we offered a negating comment that essentially contested the idea of a revolutionary basing his switch from the revolutionary stance to pacifism on what Yen called '**disappointments'** with the current situation in Africa whereby the wars of liberation left behind them new elites of middle class self-seekers. We felt that he was not being steadfast as a revolutionary. We had intended ours to be a brief and a once-for-all comment.

Yen's reaction to this, however, did not address the issue of **pacifism**, which remains the main focus, but rather found succour in a **diversionary** defence of his Left credentials in a recount of his past record in engagements to create democratic space for the Left. This had the ignoble effect of diverting attention from the issue at stake – pacifism – to efforts at passing judgements on Yen's **personal** historical record. One person fell for it. This conscious effort to escape discourse on the petty-bourgeois pastime of **pacifism** and its reactionary as well as suicidal impact on the continual generational revolutionary struggles of African and other people require that we go on to detail the exact negativity of pacifism and the betraying essence of a pacifist in their historical and conceptual dimensions – especially since the article has been republished in the January 17, 2014 edition of Ghana's respected Left newspaper **The Insight**. In this respect, we observe not just the age-old condemnations of pacifism in **concept** and **practice** by **all** the greatest revolutionaries the working people of the world ever had the fortune of learning from – Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao, Fanon, Nkrumah, Cabral, Fidel, Ché, etc. – but also the negative impact of pacifists like the renegade Karl Kautsky.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's **Class Struggle in Africa** and **Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare** were neither written by mistake nor by **choice** born out of petty-bourgeois liberalism but **necessitated** by a scientific study of the African reality of **neo-colonialism** that **centrally** includes a study of middle class and petty-bourgeois opportunism. To abandon the on-going revolutionary struggle in favour of pacifism on the pretext of being **disappointed** with the neo-colonial middle classes' betrayal of the African Revolution does not just exhibit pretence at feigning ignorance of the true nature of neo-colonialism and the revolutionary struggles against it but a

veritable exercise to justify one's ignoble lack of steadfastness in the face of obstacles.

How could a revolutionary place faith in Africa's middle classes to consummate the African Revolution in the interests of the working people and then cry 'Disappointment! Disappointment!' upon performance in an opposite direction? That is, how could those who are to be overthrown expected to overthrow themselves? That is where Nyeya Yenmaligu Yen, who refers to others as 'soft left', turns into a renegade of a pacifist. We elaborate on this in this piece.

Preliminary Discourse

Although the word 'pacifism' is acknowledged by any encyclopaedia to have been coined by the Frenchman, Emile Arnaud, in the 19th century, its practice has been traced to the ancient times. The **Encyclopaedia Britannica** and the **Encyclopedia of Marxism** both define the word in its **absolute** rejection of war and violence. Its successful application as national pacifism in modern times is credited to Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jnr., who were not concerned with replacement of the capitalist system of their days but with the realignment of human relations **within** that system. No type of pacifism – be it individual or group or national pacifism – advocates any form of **replacement** of social systems.

Since the breakdown of the only classless society that human society has ever witnessed – the communal or primitive communist society – the arrangement of all institutions of society has been based on evolved **classes** and the struggles between and among them. Regarding the institutions of defence and violence the existing dominant class exercises a monopoly over them. The presentation of such institutions as **general** organs of society masks their being monopolized by the dominant class. Established to pacify rebellious dominated classes, these institutions nevertheless regularize life within the monopolizing class **itself**. Hence, they affect a **semblance** of **independence** from all classes and sections of the latter.

The need for immediate protection against small scale rebellions at the local level, be it the residence or farm or factory, occasions a democratization of violence **within** the dominant class whereby individuals **therein** are allowed the possession of weapons of violence under licence. The spelt-out conditions for such possessions purposefully eliminate the mass of the dominated classes from weapon acquisition and possession. This orchestrates a regime of dictatorship of the dominant class over all other classes such that where active disagreement emerges between the two opposing parties after dialogue appears to be of no avail the language of the force of weapons is employed to enforce the opinion of the dominant class.

This necessary arrangement of society compels the rise of an antithetic system of violence by which sections of the dominated classes organize themselves through civil movements and organizations to resist the existing class dictatorship. Weapons of violence are initially acquired through acts of disarming isolated personnel in state service. These seizures constitute the primary base not only for the augmentation of the weapons stock but most importantly for the set-up of an armed force to serve the dominated classes in their struggle for liberation against the dictatorship of the dominant class. The extent to which dominated classes numerically participate in the armed struggle determines the future of the new force.

Within the colonial situation in Africa, the emergence of anti-colonial armed liberation units of political movements reflected the fact of their being movements. As such, combinations of elements from a variety of dominated class forces assumed leadership roles. Undoubtedly, the most advanced tendency within these combinations, dedicated to working people's interests – the Marxist tendency – was numerically negligible although they constituted the pioneering leadership. Overwhelmed by the post-colonial situation where a preponderance of the general leadership had the limited aim of just assuming the role of the erstwhile rulers the essential Marxist revolutionary leadership was either crowded out or variously killed off.

The current political scene in Africa, therefore, exhibits a panorama of African middle class forces in leadership the quickest attainment of whose limited goals of self-seeking positions them as pliant tools of neo-colonialism. This necessitates a continuation of the liberation struggle under the conditions of neo-colonialism directed at uprooting the institutions that define and condition continued African servitude. In tandem with this effort, revolutionaries are called upon not only to raise the level in the creation and proliferation of a huge critical mass of professional revolutionaries but even more importantly exploit all existing limited democratic possibilities to build people's institutions to eventually replace this system.

This is the pointed task of the African revolutionary of today. It is not the duty of the African revolutionary to sadly look at the abysmal situation created by the new middle classes in collaboration with the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism and exclaim by way of the petty-bourgeois ejaculation: 'I am disappointed! I am disappointed! The liberation struggle has brought us only deaths! I am now a pacifist!' Our brand new pacifist has quietly ignored the fact that – as Zaya Yeebo humbly submitted at the inauguration of a Community Defence Committee at Korle Gonno in 1982 – with his peasant origins he would now be pounding fufu in Kumasi but for the fee-free education up to university that liberation made available to **us**.

Understanding Yen

In declaring himself a brand new **pacifist**, Nyeya Yen does not define what he means by that; that is, who a **pacifist** is. In his initial article **Why I have become a Pacifist,** the idea one gets of a pacifist is one of a person being in **absolute** rejection of war and violence. But in one of his subsequent reactions to comments on the article on Facebook he explains that 'When I talk about violence I mean the meaningless violence across Africa today.' He adds that 'I dream of the day that we will not wake up to see people tearing and killing each other with no respite in sight.' Combined, these mean that in specifically renouncing 'meaningless violence', Yen endorses 'meaning**ful** violence'. What kind of pacifism is he advocating then?

In defining pacifism, the **Encyclopaedia Britannica** states it as 'the opposition to war and violence as a means of settling disputes. Pacifism may entail the belief that the waging of war by a state and the participation in war by an individual are absolutely wrong, under any circumstances.' On its part, the **Encyclopedia of Marxism** puts it this way: 'Pacifism is the absolute rejection of the use of violence on moral grounds. Some pacifists will sanction the use of personal violence in some circumstances, but in general it is absolute.' The emphasis in these two definitions is on the **absolute** rejection of war and violence in the pacifist's attitude toward the resolution of societal conflicts.

This same understanding is conveyed by the **Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia** in these terms: 'Pacifism covers a spectrum of views, including the belief that international disputes can and should be peacefully resolved, calls for the abolition of the institutions of the military and war, opposition to any organization of society through governmental force (anarchist or libertarian pacifism), rejection of the use of physical violence to obtain political, economic or social goals, the obliteration of force except in cases where it is absolutely necessary to advance the cause of peace, and opposition to violence under any circumstance, even defence of self and others.' Brian Orend states that 'War, for the pacifist, is always wrong.'

In spite of the explicit rejection of war and violence in the absolute, we sense, all the same, a certain low-keyed allowance for the use of violence or force to achieve peace. In this latter respect, we are tempted to equate Yen's implicit 'meaningful violence' with this 'low-keyed violence' if we are to respect his pacifist context. That is to say that we can understand Yen's 'meaningful violence' only within the context of the absolute rejection of war and violence by which a certain application of violence is meaningful only when directed at attainment of peace. If we understand, however, that peace in its essence asserts the **thaw** in the existing balance of class forces and its **maintenance** then pacifism upholds **that** *status quo*.

A thaw in the balance of forces at any given moment suggests a moment when social forces, in their perpetual struggles, achieve a temporary state of cessation of hostilities and appear to live in harmony with each other. It is this state of affairs that pacifists absolutize as the true state of peace and seek to hold together over time in perpetuity. Certainly, only those whose best interests are served by the current balance and those with great hopes of assuming positions among the dominating forces in the balance who see and long for the sustenance of **that** peace. For those dominated forces in the balance, the injustice they suffer within the current balance propels them into a state of anxiety for "real peace" wherein they be free.

Initial statements in Yen's article hold that 'Nothing is static'. This must mean to us that even a particular state of peace is subject to change. 'There is nothing constant. Things are evolving and changing all the times (sic)', he adds. He then asserts that 'That is how society has evolved and developed over the centuries.' From this perspective, it might appear quite contradictory, even to Yen, that a particular state of peace could be sustained in perpetuity over time. But this is the essence of the pacifist's position – a permanent state of affairs. In case one should suggest that the pacifist embraces change but only by way of peaceful means, we should be quick to point out that such a change occurs **within** the *status quo*.

This intra-systemic change is understandably what Yen calls 'quantitative' change. It might question specific situations within the system with the view to assuring its efficiency but not in rejection of it and calling for its replacement. A pacifist does not go beyond the existing system. It is in this light that Alan Woods, in his article Seven Years after 9/11, says that 'Pacifism is an expression of impotence and a deception of the masses'. This is understood to be so inasmuch as it constricts the masses within the system in which they are dominated and exploited amidst peace overtures when their freedom lies in breaking loose from that system. This is where Yen proceeds with 'qualitative' change.

He explains in this respect that 'Changes throughout history have often been very violent. In human development it has often been so. It is what has made society to develop. The old giving place to the new.' Yen goes on to explain why such qualitative changes – from the old system to the new – involve violence: 'The old will never give up power on a silver platter. That is why there is resistance. This leads to violence. What has become new today has come out through struggle. The painful birth prangs (sic) comes (sic) with change.' We can hence understand that resistance to change begets violence. Such violence represents birth pangs which, though painful, are necessary in the delivery process of the new.

In these initial assertions, Yen does not just give us a historical perspective of the process of change in its quantitative and qualitative dimensions but also

tells us what to expect: the old **will never** give up power and this implies resistance that lead**s** to violence. His use of past, present and future tenses is significant. It provides these conclusions: Past – throughout history development from one system to the other was, on principle, by violent changes; Present – today's reality comes out of violent struggle; Future – since the old will never give up power voluntarily resistance leading to violence, reflecting birth pangs, will follow for a change of the system. This is Yen's philosophy of history even if not sharply articulated.

The Tension

How does Yen's pacifism reflect his philosophy of history as gleaned from his article in the exercise above? We observe a *gbeyecious* tension. We are provided a correct **dynamic** Marxist philosophy of history as the theoretical framework of a **static** pacifism. Possibility of such a construct would normally be a fact in science fiction. Fortunately, social science is a serious endeavour specially concerned with the consistent application of systems of thought to a mass of facts in a logical flow. The conception of a static phenomenon subsisting in a dynamic system immediately suggests the death of the phenomenon. For, whatever is dynamic has all that is within it also being dynamic, subject to change. The static is the dead.

Yen's pacifism is achieved not by **demonstration** of it in its **consistence** with the philosophy of history initially outlined but by an independent **assertion**. He does this in the following way: after outlining the philosophy of history he provides instances of how African liberation movements succeeded in ending colonialism but were subsequently hijacked by the African middle classes to serve their personal interests and thus leaving the masses of the people in continued poverty; then on the basis of his stated **disappointment** with this turn of events he proceeds to renounce violence and declare himself a brand new pacifist. It is not **violence** that disappoints him but the **hijacking**. All the same he takes a stand against **violence**!

At the risk of sounding repetitious we are anxious to explain that Yen needs to base his stand against violence on a critique of it but not on his disappointment with the hijacking. A critique of violence within the context of his philosophy of history and developing pacifism on the basis of that critique within that same philosophy might be consistent in the practice of social science. As it is, Yen does not have problems with **meaningful** violence as implied in his text and as applied by the liberation movements but with **meaningless** violence which is not what revolutionaries are concerned with. His problem has to do with **hijacking** of the power won through the revolutionary violence of the liberation movement.

That he asserts his pacifism on the basis of the **hijacking** of the **positive fruit** of violence but not on a critique of that violence shows that he is operating **outside** his philosophy of history which should, therefore, not have been brought into the discourse at all. As it is, his being disappointed with the

hijacking should not lead him into renouncing revolutionary violence through the backdoor of asserting **pacifism** but that should rather be the basis for outlining a study of **such** hijacking and how it is to be combated. This, we think, can only be achieved through the democratization of violence within the mass movement before, during and after the revolutionary struggle to replace the existing socio-economic power system.

Democratization of Violence

In our current circumstances, there exists a democratization of violence within the dominant class **only**. Handling of weapons of violence is the preserve of members of the dominant class whereby conditions for possession of deadly weapons restrict such possession not only to the regular armed forces of the bourgeois neo-colonial state but also to members of **that** class who might require them. Regulations on who are allowed to possess weapons and on conscious dispossession of the masses of the people are strictly observed and enforced. This affords the dominant class a monopoly over weapons. Breaking that monopoly would mean the popularization of power for the authentic exercise of People's Power.

Founded on the concept of 'power to the people', the popularization of power involves the democratization of violence as expressed in the right of the masses to be armed to ensure that the will of the people is always enforced in the same manner that the democratization of violence within the dominant class currently ensures that the will of the minority dominant class prevails at all times. With the evolution and establishment of People's Power based on the democratization of violence, even a hierarchical structure is **controlled** from below, not the top. Any exhibition of a tendency to exercise power from above against the people's will would then be crushed with the proportionate organized violence of the people from below.

If the democratization of violence within the greedy minority establishes and assures **their** peace we cannot but similarly be sure that the democratization of violence among the masses of our people would indeed establish and assure **their** peace as well. Within the latter peace environ it is the people who determine what 'meaningless violence' and 'meaningful violence' are. Regulations built on such definitions would then determine the conditions within which violence could be deployed to resolve conflicts among the masses and conflicts with the class enemy – local and foreign. Hence, the democratization of violence is needed if popular peace is to be attained among the vast majority of humankind.

In this respect, pacifism is truly impotent. Certainly, it is infuriating to see a weakling of a so-called District Chief Executive boast 'Who said ''tweaa''? Do you know who I am?'' when that rat is absolutely a nonentity definitively talking palpable nonsense that invites the ''tweaa'' retort. In 1982 we saw how such rats wobbled in their seats at the slightest show of power from below. It is not pacifism that preconditions officialdom to warranted behaviour but the

existence of palpable violence – the kind of violence whose presence is felt even when it is some distance away. Not pacifism! It is the absence of the potential to exercise such violence that makes it possible for the middle classes in Africa to hijack 'the gains of the revolution'.

Using Yen's Democratic Space

In response to a comment on his article, Yen states that 'At present the way is not clear in Ghana. There is no visible alternative at the moment. The NDC has offered a lot of solace for the "soft" left. Many people want an alternative. How to begin is the problem.' To this, a reader asks Yen for a **specific** alternative. He comes back with this answer: 'Change is always spearheaded by a group dedicated to an alternative. It is always a minority. The mass of the people can be dissatisfied, but they as a bulk or group cannot bring about an (sic) change/alternative, unless there is a group, party, that is very clear about what it wants.' Clearly he dodges the question: what **kind** of alternative? He rather blames others.

Responding to a supposed correction from another comment that 'It was the nascent PNDC (first 2 years) which offered "soft solace"[164] [to] the left [and that it] has never been the case with the NDC' and also that 'The NDC-NPP alliance must be removed from office by the ballot – the fire next time!', Yen does not only once again apply his dodging tactic and avoids response to the 'solace' issue but also expresses his disappointment with lack of progress in finding alternatives when he was in Ghana for three months. This is exactly how he puts it: 'I was in Ghana for three months. Disappointed about luck (sic) of progress in finding alternatives to the present decadent establishment.' He then urges all to do what they can, however little.

In this urge on all to do what they can, Yen also urges in another comment that 'We should ... always remember that being a revolutionary is a voluntary commitment and it is not compulsory. Nobody is born a revolutionary. We all have choices to make'. In the same comment he also explains the **voluntary** nature of such commitment: the individual decides what to do at any particular time. These are his words: 'The struggle to bring about justice and equality is a **voluntary** one. Individuals decide what they want to do at **any particular time**.' (Emphases added). Thus at any particular time, even as a member of a party or an organization, the individual decides what they like. Revolutionaries call this **voluntarism**[165].

[164] Yen does not actually talk of any 'soft solace' but rather '"soft" left'. Without naming anybody he also goes on to claim the absence of 'a genuine left movement' in Ghana. This is further discussed in this rejoinder.

[165] Those of us who participated in the first year of the December 31st 1981 coup d'état in Ghana were critical of Comrade Capt. Kojo Tsikata's urge on us to take independent initiatives when we required guidance. This created a situation whereby everybody just acted in pursuit of their

Voluntarism is the philosophical bedrock of **anarchism**. In its manifestation as a political philosophy, anarchism rejects revolutionary principles like **democratic centralism** which **regulate** life within a party or an organization. Democratic centralism states that every issue collectively decided on within the party or organization remains binding on **each member** and the leadership until changed. This, in principle, subjects the leadership to control by the membership and assures the leadership's legitimate and legal responsibility to ensure that each member carries out decisions reached without let. An outvoted member is allowed to continue to convince the others and might succeed with a change. Meanwhile, he **complies**.

Yen's idea of 'we all have choices to make' has, within context, the wrong connotation that once one chooses to be a revolutionary one can just opt out. Any such opting out places one essentially in the ranks of the **enemy**, especially when one seeks to propagate misleading concepts like pacifism from **outside** the party or organization **among** those **inside** it or the **potential** outside who might join it. The revolutionary movement is guided by principles and applying oneself to them is **compulsory**. Like the Revolution itself, a revolutionary party or organization is not a 'tea party'. Membership in any such organization is a commitment of a lifetime. Once one opts out, one's movements and utterances are closely monitored.

Yen says that there is a '"soft" left' to which 'the NDC has offered a lot of solace' in Ghana. This penchant for associating some estranged members of the Left with the PNDC and now the NDC once upon a time manifested in his unsubstantiated accusation of Comrade Explo Nani-Kofi about his so-called relations with the PNDC. Today, while in Ghana, Explo is engaged in activities **independent** of **any** party of the Establishment and is struggling on with the youth and others not only in building a grass roots movement but has, for the first time in Ghana's history, inaugurated an annual People's Parliament where speeches are not what the neo-colonial Establishment desires to hear. In a similar vein, the Socialist Forum of Ghana (SFG) is involved in various activities.

The initial limitations of these organizational efforts within the **democratic space** that Yen proudly proclaims to have made a contribution to are being discussed. In fact, although the SFG is truly a **forum** for socialists and not yet a party or an organization with the discipline of an integrated revolutionary movement it has not only set up a library of rare Marxist books to which Prof. Akilagpa Sawyerr has contributed a whole collection but is also running two Marxist Study Groups on Thursdays and Fridays as well as a bookshop, the Freedom Bookshop – not to talk of its series of public demonstrations.

---

understanding of the ends of a revolution. We accused him of *voluntarism* which had created a chaotic scene. Yen comfortably forgets this experience.

Certainly, some of us complain about the **transformation rate** of the SFG into a grass roots organization of working people.

Such expressions of anxiety warrant no going outside the box to proclaim disappointment to persons or an audience bereft of information on the basis of which they could make their judgements on trends. Additionally, those expressions do not lead to definitive conclusions that **nothing** is being done and thus throw arms up and about with petty-bourgeois declarations of 'I am disappointed! I agree that I am frustrated! I am now a pacifist!' That kind of Yenish yelling fails to recognize the evolutionary or quantitative dimensions of organic progress or development in democratic space. It is a veritable expression of **mechanical** as opposed to **dialectical** thinking – revolutionary thought processes of the scientific type.

The Friday Marxist Study Group in session on January 31, 2014 at the library.

Within what Yen calls 'democracy' we see a bourgeois neo-colonial **entente** wherein the middle classes – after the historically recent struggles among them for a determination of which of them exercises neo-colonial power – are forced to agree on a constitution that they never intended but which creates space for forces opposed to them to organize against them. The efforts at a constitutional review aim to 'correct' this historical 'mistake' so as to more conclusively deny the forces of progress this unintended grant of space. The slow rate at which the situation is being exploited to organizationally strengthen progressive forces in the face of the pending review, which requires a referendum, is a current concern.

In this respect, the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA), within the limits of its Spartan conditions, strives to co-operate with other organizations and groups with the view to aid the achievement of a harmonization of ideological and organizational directions within the Left. This anticipates the moment of crystallization of the separate progressive groups and organizations into the continental organizational force capable of a sporadic but organized harassment of imperialist and neo-colonial forces and states into

Returning from CENCSA's Liberty Ayivi Memorial Mango Plantation: Finding the answers in concreto-practical efforts.

dismemberment and disintegration for their replacement with the People's Republican State of Africa as evolved and established by the continental revolutionary force and its branches.

This suggests the use of the current democratic space not only to plant Left presence among the working people but more importantly to build the working people into structures that **they** exercise democratic control of. So far, the fabrication of effective ideas for realization of these objectives has been a practical proposition being tested in the field of revolutionary construction at the workplace. Current results show that the answers are found not in the books but in concreto-practical efforts to actualize these objectives in the people's daily efforts at production and defence. The books, nevertheless, arm us with guiding principles to intellectually apprehend and comprehend the unfolding conditions.

We are saying that the revolutionary struggle is one of **not** awaiting the capture of power **before** the institutions of People's Power are built; but rather one of building them right in the womb of the dying-out system, where and when the opportunities exist, till the day when the thus-developed production and defence organs of the Revolution are ready to replace the decadent neo-colonial existences in the inevitable clash of weapons of defence and attack. These are not achieved by pacifist postures but by that revolutionary posture required to contain and abort neo-colonial violent attacks. These are not Facebook name callings and propagation of the impotence born of patronization but a concrete activity.

Conclusions

In response to a Facebook comment on his article, Yen states: 'Yes. I am disappointed and as you call it frustrated. It is even more than that.' To be more than disappointed and more than frustrated appears to suggest that one has turned vegetable. Yen believes that 'today, we do not have a genuine left movement, to take the struggle forward'. Certainly, a movement is not a party. A movement crystallizes as a process. In its **formative** stage it manifests in various group **activities** directed at a **specific** aim. Facebook, for instance, reflects such groups propagating socialist anti-neo-colonial and anti-imperialist ideas and activities across the African continent. The **final** stage integrates such groups into a single centrally-directed unit. There are **intervening** stages of co-operation between and among the groups.

An illustration of this process is found in the history of the liberation struggle in the then Gold Coast where various groups, some of which were just literary groups, crystallized into the United Gold Coast Convention under Dr. J. B. Danquah but effectively developed into a nationwide political movement under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's organizational direction. Out of this movement,

slowly but surely, emerged the Convention People's Party. The movement was not the result of a precipitous event but a process of evolution that took time to come into being in spite of its problems. This illustration can be multiplied across the continent with the ANC of South Africa and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) as glittering examples.

Nyeya Yen clearly does not appear to appreciate this process of history in the emergence of political movements. In his response to another comment that 'The NDC-NPP Mafia alliance must be removed from office by the ballot – the fire next time!', his penchant for the voluntarist **dramatic** manifests quickly thus: 'Unfortunately and unless there is a dramatic turnout it does not seem so.' Certainly, what appears dramatic develops on the **blind** side of those who are not observing. There is nothing dramatic, for, everything, as Yen observes, goes through a period of quantitative changes before exploding as a change of quality. To the one observing the process there is no surprise element and, therefore, nothing dramatic.

What, therefore, appears dramatic is **worked for** but not just **expected** in the manner of an act of God. In his failure to observe the concrete nature of the current stage of the movement of the Left, Yenmaligu Yen can only **expect** the dramatic in the nature of an act of God. This is why he derives **no** inspiration from the forward movement that he does not see. Hence, his innervating disappointment that threatens to send him bananas, nay! vegetable. To remove the 'Mafia' requires **creativity** and **work,** not **expectation**. Yen expects something of the dramatic when he returns to Ghana and stays for three months and not seeing a fully crystallized Left movement he drops dispirited. Surely, that's not the ways of 'a genuine left'.

Yes, the pacifist is a vegetable that spreads vegetability in the ranks of revolutionary forces who are correctly dedicated to the ultimate democratization of violence among the masses of African people to safeguard their interests in the same way that the African middle classes observe democratization of violence in their own ranks to defend their parasitic interests.

Forward with the Marxist-Nkrumaist Pan-African Movement!

February 3, 2014

BACK TO CONTENTS

Matters Arising

A CRITIQUE IN SOCIALIST POLICY DIRECTION DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Evaluating Professor Ansa K. Asamoa's Depeasantization Policy Proposals

By

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

AUTHOR'S PRELIMINARY NOTE

AN EDITED APPRECIATIVE RESPONSE TO A COMRADE'S CONTRIBUTORY CRITICAL COMMENTS ON THIS ARTICLE PRIOR TO PUBLICATION

Comrade,

Looking at your markings in the article we can understand the direction of your critical comments. The essential issue has to do with evolution *and* revolution. *Evolution is the quantitative process that leads to the qualitative process of Revolution. By the dynamics of history a process of evolution of an emerging mode of production generates political and other superstructural institutions in aid of it. Revolution is the crowning moment of an evolution when these new institutions come into conflict with and emerge in dominance over the old ones together with their mode of production. Not the other way round. A 'revolutionary process' entails an initial evolution that culminates in a revolutionary change. Evolution and revolution are dialectically and historically connected.*

Within the conditions of feudal Russia where the system is at the verge of collapse and the emergence of capitalism, as the new mode of production, is fast approaching, the political *struggle becomes the immediate concern. Are forces of capitalism to be allowed to take over power as a matter of course? Lenin says 'no'. He approaches the issue from the reversed angle of assuming political power first to* initiate *the process of* evolving *the construction of an alternative mode of production – socialism. Following the process of the evolution of a new mode of production from the womb of the existing now-reactionary system and alongside it, Lenin understands that left to the historical process alone the capitalist system takes over upon the demise of Russian feudalism.*

This means giving capitalism some centuries to develop and pass off on its own just as happens to feudalism. Lenin, upon seeing what havoc

capitalism is creating in Europe, refuses to wait. He sees political power lying in the streets. He takes it for the redirection *of the historical process to* initiate *and* develop *the new socialist mode of production to avert the imminent ravages of capitalism. The seed of socialism at this time, unlike capitalism, has not yet been sown. Hence, it has to be sown* after *the capture of political power.*

That is a bold attempt to intervene in the historical process. It becomes the norm *of socialist revolutionary practice. If the seed of socialism is already sown Lenin will be left with the easy task of just developing it. But the force of capitalist evolution cannot be just gotten rid of. Lenin is forced, therefore, to* tactically *give in to it within the framework of the New Economic Policy with the socialist orientation as the guide. Unfortunately, he dies too early. Stalin fails him later through pragmatistic policies that turn the* tactical *move into the* norm *– a* strategic *reorientation.*

Comrade, in other words, every mode of production evolves *before it attains the moment of its assumption of dominance if it should endure and be permanent* – with its winning of state power*. That moment is marked by violent eruptions consequent upon and proportional to the resistance of the ruling class to retain power when its usefulness elapses. That is the* revolutionary *moment when the rising class assumes the place of dominance in the realm to* advance *the development of its newly-*evolving *mode of production.*

In this article, we take consideration of the fact that our communal system is increasingly giving way to the emergence of capitalism where what is communally owned is now being converted to private individual ownership. The youth are, consequently, being ejected from the land which is then released to transnationals and local forces of capitalism. Difficult as this situation is, it provides socialist forces an opportunity to begin the process of socialist evolution in preparation for the revolutionary moment in contention against capitalism – not just at the political level but more importantly at the economic roots.

That is the moment when we, the working people, have in our hands not only political power but more significantly what we are already*, upon our own efforts,* developing*. To defeat us at that moment will require defeating the people-in-arms. Spread across the continent of Africa such people-in-arms, simultaneously rising in unison to defend their* own property and life*, cannot stand aloof in the event of a reactionary resurgence of a few whose imperialist and capitalist neo-colonialist intentions and evil acts are well understood by a people conscious of their best interests. That is the moment of exhibition of the indefatigable spirit of African resistance and resilience.*

Imperialism and capitalist neo-colonialism cannot defeat a whole continent of people ready to fight for themselves*. Qaddafi stands today defeated because that whole continent of people looks on,* innervated by pre-occupation with trying to eke out a living in a system wherein they have nothing to defend*, while the Qaddafi forces hold out* alone for months *against the full force of international imperialism in collaboration with internal forces of reaction. The Soviet Union similarly crumbles, by other means, with the people looking on.*

Never again should the people of Africa be defeated as happens in Libya. This calls for the fullest mobilization and organization of African working people on a continental scale in defence of what they truly have – *their own newly-evolving mode of production wherein they have real, not bogus theoretical, control. This is why, Comrade, we insist that placing the means of production in the hands of the people, who also* increasingly *exercise state power in defence of their socialist mode of production, is the only way to enduringly consummate the African Revolution and defend it.*

The only ideologico-programmatic framework for that endeavour is Marxist-Nkrumaist Revolutionary Pan-Africanism as Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah elaborates it and is being developed by Marxist-Nkrumaists across the world within the context of unfolding reality. Let's look at the African reality of our days, dialectically analyse it historically and ensure victory over imperialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism for the permanent fulfilment of the socialist aspirations of our people in this century - sooner than later.

In this struggle, we need our mutual open-mindedness to appreciate our chances and possible difficulties as well as resolution of petty internal differences. Posterity might appreciate our effort and not condemn us. Let's create the condition that posterity, in reflection over it, will stand dump-founded as to how easily *we could achieve the freedom they enjoy in the face of the apparent formidability of the world imperialist machine.*

Comrade, we are aware of the novelty of the direction we map out in this article in its apparent reversal of Lenin's century-old strategy within the conditions of Africa and in accord with the dynamics of history. Hence, we are also aware that a lot of explanation will need to be made. Our main consolation and assurance rest in the conviction that we operate within the framework of Dr. Nkrumah's ideological, philosophical, theoretical and action system – Marxism-Nkrumaism and its programme of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism.

Thanks for raising these critical issues on strategy. Rest assured that we remain in readiness to accept correction made in consistence with the principles of Marxism-Nkrumaism. Good night.

Lang

A CRITIQUE IN SOCIALIST POLICY DIRECTION DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Evaluating Professor Ansa K. Asamoa's Depeasantization Policy Proposals

By

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

Prof. Ansa K. Asamoa provides us with a possibly pioneering model for the depeasantization of rural Africa to free productive forces in that community. As a pioneering model, we can expect oversights. We have here tried to locate such oversights together with our critical appreciation of formulations that we deem can promote the ends of freeing the said productive forces. In the process, we find ourselves uncomfortable with the prospect of peasants losing their communal lands should his proposals be implemented.

For which reason we strongly suggest a comprehensive reformulation of those proposals to take account of the need to contextualize them in the process of the total liberation and unification of Africa under the direction of Marxist-Nkrumaist Revolutionary Pan-Africanism for the destruction of neo-colonial capitalism and realization of socialism in Africa. Our reformulation restores privatized land and land in the process of being privatized to the individual through a collective co-operative[166] wherein land is owned and developed collectively for the depeasantization of Africa's rural economy and industrialization.

Introduction

Certainly, a crying need for a clear statement of socialist policy direction development in and for Africa calls for independent collaboration of African *socialist* forces. Prof. Ansa Asamoa could surely have made such a call in 2001. In his *Depeasantization of Africa's Rural Economy – The Ghanaian Experience*, he makes a strong case for the modernization of the African countryside within the context of a long-term national development policy. Written in a clearly accessible language, what he calls either an 'essay' or 'paper' or 'article' appears to him to be a possible pioneering effort based on field research. That suggests that he is not aware of any other work with similar concern for rural Africa. Theoretical discussion is intentionally avoided in that paper.

In its essence, Prof. Asamoa's paper is directed at *official policy makers* of the neo-colonial states in Africa and those who influence such policy-making but

[166] Our concept of a 'collective co-operative' is distinguished from the current co-operative type where land resources are *pooled*. With our concept, a revolutionary organization acquires the land and makes the workers effective collective owners of it within its organizational framework. The land is subsequently *not* inherited though expandable; hence indivisible. A member shares in its ownership for a lifetime only.

not singularly and pointedly at socialists. Hence, he calls for a platform that assembles both the Establishment elite who run the neo-colonial states and those seen as progressive academicians at our universities to discuss matters of policy. He is all the same pessimistic that his proposals might find reception among those whom he calls 'the right-wing political elite' who currently have a field day in Africa. He also suspects that such politicians prefer foreign experts to African experts though the latter understand African issues better and can easily handle them than the former who come to lecture Africans.

With respect to policy strategy formulation, Prof. Ansa Asamoa brings to bear the experiences of depeasantization processes in the United States of America (USA), Europe and Southern Africa on the one hand and the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and Cuba on the other hand. In the process, he exhibits a preference in favour of the humane and pragmatic depeasantization strategies of the socialist countries as against the naked bloody brutalities that characterize the strategies adopted in the West and Southern Africa. Hence, in Africa he *cautiously* sees the possible adoption of the socialist alternative to free the forces of production in the rural sector for a symbiotic relationship between depeasantization and industrialization to unfold.

Although certain turns of speech tend to suggest that Prof. Ansa K. Asamoa envisages a period of transition that accommodates the co-existence of the capitalist mode of production and the development of State enterprises, he expects a development direction that leads ultimately to an evolved 'national mode of production' wherein State enterprises and co-operatives assume a place of *dominance* in the economy. There is no doubt, however, that he places the initiative of this process of change in the hands of the existing neo-colonial states' elites who are expected to co-operate with each other in certain areas in service of the mutual interests of their peoples. Hence, existing political relations appear reproduced – an elite and a mass.

In our critical evaluative appreciation of Prof. Ansa Asamoa's effort here, we acknowledge the innovative ideas therein and seek to strategically suggest their enhancement which trims off them affectations of ideological caution and inexactness. In this regard, we seek to question his uncritical adoption of the *structure* of co-operatives of the former socialist republics; that is, without his raising and addressing the cause of the disintegration of many socialist systems in spite of the existence of the co-operatives. We call a spade just that – a spade – and nothing else.

In our effort, we place the initiative of the process in the hands of *African socialist* forces with the Marxist-Nkrumaist orientation operating essentially *outside* the existing neo-colonial state structures. The said African forces evolve as a nascent continental state from a politically-directed continental co-operative movement wherein the workers collectively own the means of

production and defence and increasingly *exercise state power*. For, as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah says, neo-colonialism *cannot* programme its own demise. History entrusts African and internationalist socialist forces with that task.

Methodology

A prior consideration of the methodology that Prof. Ansa Asamoa adopts helps to appreciate the profundity as well as the problematics of his thoughts; for, it provides the theoretical framework within which he situates his policy proposals. Of course, he does not consciously state the methodology since he intentionally avoids that kind of discussion. All the same, he gives a gist of it in his references to those used by others which he disapproves of. From those disapprovals we glean the nature of his own methodology. This is particularly so when he traces the failure of our African economists, agro-economists and agricultural scientists to their false theoretical and methodological premises.[167]

In this respect, he accuses that group of adopting 'a purely economistic approach to economic problems of development'; by which he means the exclusion of non-economic issues in the formulation of development policies. In a more powerful use of language he pointedly accuses them of using 'false, if not reactionary, theoretical and methodological premises' in their 'analyses of economic situations and in economic planning'. This leads to a situation whereby they apply economic theories that reflect *not* the African reality but rather 'the highly sophisticated economies of the capitalist industrial societies' to formulate strategies for economic planning and development.[168]

This methodological list of 'don't dos' includes the practice of initiating projects 'from the national instead of the village level'.[169] Hence, from the methodological perspective, Prof. Asamoa projects a development approach that is not economistic but all-embracing; and, of equal significance, that approach needs to proceed from the *village* to the *national* level. The result of this is intended to be 'the systematic development of a national mode of production' that is calculated to lead to the 'expansion of state-owned and co-operative enterprises at the expense of the individual and private enterprises'.[170] The initiator of this process is the government.

In this latter respect, Prof. Asamoa is convinced that 'the whole peasant question in Ghana (and, therefore, Africa) would remain basically unsolved unless it is approached on the national level within a progressive political framework'.[171] We should here be mindful not to mix up '*from* the national

[167] See Ansa K. Asamoa, *Depeasantization of Africa's Rural Economy – The Ghanaian Experience*, p.51.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Op. cit., p.73
[170] Op. cit., p.55
[171] Op. cit., p.53

level' with '*on* the national level'; for, they are not the same. Hence, he does not contradict himself here. What should rather engage our attention is the need to clarify the reference to 'a progressive political framework' in a situation where he asserts that 'the right-wing political elite of Ghana *currently having a field day* in Ghanaian politics are allergic to anything socialist'.[172]

The note of caution here is that what is *progressive* is not necessarily *socialist*. Development of the capitalist mode of production is considered progressive insofar as it tends to free society from the restrictions on the productive forces of feudal or non-feudal society. Prof. Asamoa's turns of speech might tend to confuse the reader as to whether he projects an *initial* stage of the development of the capitalist mode of production to free society from the said restrictions *in preparation* for a socialist mode of production or that he projects a *direct* entry into the socialist mode of production. For, what he calls a 'national mode of production' is *not* socialist. The dilemma is discussed.

The nature of the dilemma is such that we have difficulty in determining from his paper exactly what type of a progressive political system he envisages for the adoption and implementation of his policy proposals – the existing neo-colonial political system run by progressive bourgeois politicians or a newly-evolving or evolved socialist political system that develops simultaneously with the development of a socialist mode of production and run by socialist forces involved in the socio-economico-political building-up process? There is no doubt that these alternatives find expressions in the paper at hand where they appear to co-exist. If so, which of them should be dominant?

In the next two sections, we exhibit this difficulty with citations from the paper and attempt to resolve it.

Prof. Ansa Asamoa's Characterization of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Development Orientation

Prof. Ansa Asamoa states that 'Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was quick to realize that without building a strong reproductive sector *within* the inherited capitalist mode of production, Ghana could never take off economically'.[173] Significantly, he clears all possible doubts about what that citation means when, with reference to the Nkrumah regime, he refers to 'the capitalist economic sector where *all* attention was concentrated'.[174] In accordance with this focus, he says, Dr. Nkrumah undertook the Volta River Project, built a number of industries and research centres like the Atomic Research Centre in

[172] Op. cit., p.90 Italics added.
[173] Op. cit., p.49 Italics added.
[174] Op. cit., p.50 Italics added.

conjunction with such infrastructural development like the Kwame Nkrumah Motorway, etc.[175]

In his view, the CPP, and, therefore, Dr. Nkrumah, 'committed a very serious strategic blunder, which over the years systematically developed into complicated socio-economic contradictions, which finally negated the Nkrumah government.'[176] In continuation, he explains that 'The blunder, in terms of economic planning, was the total exclusion of the peasant sector of the economy from the strategies for economic development'.[177] In this respect, Prof. Asamoa holds that consequent upon this blunder, possibilities of capital formation within the peasant economy were either intentionally ignored or they escaped authority attention[178].

In spite of this alleged neglect of the peasant economy, Prof. Asamoa says that in tune with Dr. Nkrumah's synchronization of 'a gradual development of the scientific and technological basis of reproduction with infrastructural and agricultural diversification … hundreds of new feeder roads (and) hundreds of acres of rubber and palm plantations and other agricultural ventures by the state farms'[179] were undertaken by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Setting the claim of neglect of the peasant economy aside, we hear Prof. Asamoa contend that all these concrete pursuits 'bear testimony to this contention'[180] of Dr. Nkrumah 'building a strong reproductive sector *within* the inherited capitalist mode …'

Talking about resources of labour, according to Prof. Asamoa, 'Nkrumah's vigorous educational policy, his determination to have several Ghanaians educated in all parts of the world including the socialist countries, a practice which till independence had been regarded as an abomination, all were a well-meant attempt to create a permanent local manpower reservoir to feed all branches including the infant industrial sector of the *dominant capitalist mode of production'.*[181] Our author describes these efforts, that he alleges were directed at single-mindedly building a capitalist mode of production, as 'positive economic ventures'[182] and *commends* Dr. Nkrumah 'for his intelligent distribution of capital in the modern sector of the national economy'.[183] Surely, that 'modern sector' is 'the capitalist economic sector'.[184]

Just a paragraph after this huge commendation, Prof. Ansa K. Asamoa includes Dr. Nkrumah's regime among all governments whose agricultural policies

---

[175] Op. cit. p.49
[176] Op. cit. p.50
[177] Ibid
[178] Ibid
[179] Op. cit. p.49
[180] Ibid
[181] Op. cit. pp. 49-50 Italics added.
[182] Op. cit. p.50
[183] Ibid
[184] Ibid

have failed due to '*unwise* distribution of government revenues'.[185] This is exactly how he puts it: 'The failure of agricultural policies of all the governments we have had so far has been caused to a great extent by the unwise distribution of government revenue.' To emphasize the capitalist orientation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prof. Asamoa adds on the same page that 'Almost all government revenues from the cash crop industries, for example, are invested by the state in projects in the capitalist sector of the economy, in state-owned and private mechanized farming.'

This latter citation brings both state-owned enterprise and private enterprise in the era of the Nkrumah regime under the capitalist sector of the economy. For the avoidance of doubt, Prof. Asamoa specifically refers to that state sector of the economy as 'the state capitalist sector'.[186] The other sector, as opposed to the entire capitalist economic sector, is the peasant sector or peasant economy. Hence, in the entire paper under scrutiny not for once is the economy under the Nkrumah regime ever described as a socialist economy or at least as a socialist-oriented economy developing *alongside* the inherited capitalist mode of production. That regime, simply put, is just as capitalist-oriented as any other regime succeeding it, according to Prof. Asamoa.

In the light of Prof. Asamoa's mixture of commendations and condemnations of the Nkrumah regime and his bundling it together with subsequent regimes, some of which he explicitly describes as right-wing, it becomes still difficult to characterize that regime from his perspective. Certainly, Prof. Asamoa is, without doubt, convinced that the Nkrumah regime is a capitalist-oriented entity. But as such an entity, he does not specifically categorize it either as a *neo-colonial* or *progressive bourgeois* regime – a categorization required for the determination of implicit dialectical differences that he finds between the Nkrumah regime and the others although he bundles all regimes together.[187]

For sure, he has difficulties here since his position, as we would see presently, seems to us to be that *progress* is measured by the extent to which a regime undertakes a *depeasantization project* to usher the peasantry into the 'modern economy'; and that is exactly what he accuses Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of not doing[188] in addition to the absence of any suggestion, on his part, that the

[185] Op. cit. p.51 Italics added.
[186] Op. cit. p.55
[187] In his 1996 publication, *Socio-Economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries – The Ghanaian Experience*, Prof. Asamoa's references to Dr. Nkrumah's 'socialist orientation' are replete in Chapter 4. Surprisingly in his paper under discussion not a single such reference is made. More significantly, even in the 1996 work he does not connect the references to Dr. Nkrumah's economic policy.
[188] At p.51 of the paper under consideration, Prof. Asamoa states that 'since the military take-over in January 1972 … the top men in the Ministries of Economic Planning and Agriculture have not learnt enough lessons from the socio-economic contradictions *our past governments* have created by their *failure to start* synchronizing the modern and peasant sectors of our national economy.'(Italics added) To be directly specific, he states that 'the CPP government miserably failed to explore the natural and human resources in the peasant economy and the extent to which they could be used to accelerate the development of an integrated modern economy.' (p.50)

Nkrumah regime is a neo-colonial entity. We are saying that in case Prof. Ansa Asamoa is correct in projecting the Nkrumah regime as a capitalist-oriented entity he all the same fails to *specifically* categorize it either as a neo-colonial government or a progressive bourgeois government. It is left to guesswork.

A capitalist-oriented regime is necessarily either of these, given that African economies are peripheral capitalist or, what might be the same thing, neo-colonial entities. While Prof. Asamoa sees 'the present neo-colonial capitalist order'[189] in Ghana he indeed says that 'Ghana is a peripheral capitalist country terribly allergic to the socialist idea.'[190] The question is: since when?

Resolving Asamoa's Difficulties

Prof. Ansa Asamoa's dilemma or difficulty in his ideological categorization of the Nkrumah regime stems from the fact of his mistaken assumption that Ghana *opts* for capitalism and is consequently *allergic* to socialism. Apart from our last citation from his paper concerning the said allergy, he also talks about 'capitalism, which Ghana has opted for'.[191] In the light of this unfortunate unwarranted and mistaken assumption he misunderstands the direction of state policy under the Nkrumah regime. Hence, though Dr. Nkrumah's initiatives after independence in Ghana are *essentially* akin to certain policy initiatives made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states immediately after their socialist revolutions he fails to see the former initiatives as *socialist* in character while the Soviet and the others' initiatives are seen as such.

Curiously, while he alleges neglect of a depeasantization process under the Nkrumah administration he also concedes that the depeasantization process *therein* is rather slow. He makes this concession tangentially when he states that 'Restricted only to light industrialization, the industrial sector cannot absorb significant labour released through *the rather slow process of depeasantization*'.[192] One would wish that Prof. Asamoa explains the *restraining* circumstances, internal and external, that ensure the slow rate of the process. For, just as he states that the depeasantization process in the socialist states does not come easily[193] the *restraining* circumstances in Ghana need to be also highlighted in the context of Dr. Nkrumah's assertion of a socialist direction.[194]

---

[189] Op. cit. p.53

[190] Op. cit. p.32 At p.84, he also makes reference to 'Ghana's peripheral capitalist economy'. Back at p.62 he refers to 'Ghana's neo-colonial capitalism'

[191] Op. cit, p.33

[192] Op. cit. pp.31-32 Italics added.

[193] Op. cit. p.27 Here, he states that 'Of course, the process was not so smooth. A lot of patience was needed to get the peasants involved in the co-operative system.' That system was the central focal point of the depeasantization process.

[194] In his inaugural Republic Day broadcast to the nation on July 1, 1960, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah declares and we quote at length in respect of his socialist orientation: 'Countrymen, the future ahead of us is full of promise but not the sort of promise which ensures the exploitation of other men's labour for the enrichment

That Ghana opts for capitalism cannot be found substantiated either through the evidence of a national referendum to that effect or a constitutional provision to the same effect. What we can be sure of is Dr. Nkrumah's assertion in 1960 that 'our approach to this new life shall be a socialist pattern of society'.[195] But such references are inferior to the evidence on the ground that economic policy implementation under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is in the *nature* of a *transition* to socialism. The fact of Prof. Asamoa knowing that 'Even socialist depeasantization in Russia and Eastern Europe was *preceded* by capitalist depeasantization'[196] should inform him that the socialist transition is a *phase* of contradictory trends well managed to guarantee ultimate socialist *dominance*.

It is this contradictory scenario that appears to confuse our dear professor. He, thus, cannot tell us the exact ideological orientation of the Nkrumah regime. That is why he sees subsequent regimes to be right-wing and pro-West but remains mute as to what the Nkrumah regime is – left-wing, pro-Soviet or non-aligned, progressive, anti-neo-colonialist? He is excellently mute on these. He still sees the inherited colonial capitalist mode of production and its being developed in accordance with its native logic. He does not see the new development of the economy *away* from the inherited system and *alongside* it as a programmed gradual *replacement* of it. He does not see that the new process of change requires a *parallel state apparatus* that actually emerges.

Prof. Ansa Asamoa's list of initiatives consequent upon the Cultural Revolution in the socialist countries only reminds one of Dr. Nkrumah's initiatives in Ghana: mass literacy campaigns, establishment of technical training schools and polytechnics, emancipation of cultural minorities in northern Ghana from colonially-enforced labour reservoirs through preferential allocation of resources, the Kwame Nkrumah Institute for training and retraining of new and old staff respectively in the spirit of scientific socialism[197] as well as the

---

of a few individuals. Ghana has a duty to her people; a duty to prevent the exploitation of man by man. I personally do not and cannot believe that all our efforts have been undertaken for the purpose of enabling a few persons to enrich themselves at the expense of the majority. For that reason our approach to this new life shall be a socialist pattern of society and it shall be based entirely on Ghanaian conditions and circumstances, in order that our endeavours shall result in the greatest good for the greatest number of our people. We must develop our country to meet the needs of our people so that the ordinary man and woman may be well fed, well clothed and well housed. We must operate a planned economy for use and abundance.' See Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Vol. 1*, p.89. With regard to the restraining circumstances he explains, on the occasion of laying the foundation stone and inauguration of the first course of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute on February 18, 1961, that 'the circumstances of the Convention People's Party … made it practically impossible to organise any consistent party ideological education. Our party was in death-grips with imperialism and colonialism, and it was a grim fight every inch of the way. The objective of independence was so precious that everything else, including party ideological education, had to be pushed aside in the interim.' See Samuel Obeng*, Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 2, p.5

[195] Ibid. p.89 This appears in his broadcast on Republic Day 1960.

[196] Ansa K. Asamoa, *Depeasantization of Africa's Rural Economy*, p.28 Italics added

[197] In his speech at the laying of foundation of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute, Dr. Nkrumah states clearly that 'The structure of the Convention People's Party has been built up from our own experiences, conditions, environments and concepts entirely Ghanaian and African in outlook, and based on the Marxist socialist philosophy and worldview.' See Samuel Obeng, Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Vol. 2, pp.11-12

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology for the development of science and its application.[198] Surely, Dr. Nkrumah does not run about shouting that he is on the path of a Cultural Revolution by these actions. But we can see the raging of a Cultural Revolution.

Prof. Ansa Asamoa's difficulties are, therefore, resolved in acknowledgement of the fact of Ghana being in a specific state of *socialist transition* which the subsequent acts of negation by successive regimes systematically abort to our collective chagrin. The process of socialist transformation in Africa necessarily takes a different form from that of the socialist countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America which, as Prof. Asamoa shows, have the opportunity of destroying the political system before embarking on its replacement. In Africa, the process of socialist change involves more demanding thought and action to *simultaneously* build the new and destroy the old inherited colonial capitalist system that serves interests other than those of Africans.

The history of socialism in Ghana exhibits no allergy to socialism. Through the resistance to the neo-colonial capitalist system by generational stalwarts, from the likes of Johnny F.S. Hansen of the People's Revolutionary Party to Kwesi Pratt Jnr. of the Socialist Forum of Ghana from the 1960s to date, there is nothing to show off as allergy to socialism in Ghana. Certainly, there is that section of the Ghanaian compradorial and national bourgeoisie that is truly allergic to socialism. And that is a matter of course. But the generality of Ghanaians is receptive to socialism in point of the fact that when explained to them Ghanaians appreciate it from the standpoint of enduring communal thoughts and practices. Well, perhaps, Prof. Asamoa harbours that allergy.

Whatever the case might be, he provides food for thought by socialists of the Marxist-Nkrumaist orientation. In the following sections we examine his proposals for a depeasantization process within the context of his conception of a national mode of production. Our critique is located within the context of the history of socialist reconstruction in Africa with special reference to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's efforts at socialist transformation. We conclude with a slight but strategic adaptation of Prof. Asamoa's model. Further improvements can be expected from other critical Marxist-Nkrumaist thinker-strategists.

Defining the Asamoa Depeasantization Process

Prof. Ansa Asamoa strongly projects a depeasantization process whereby 'the systematic development of a national mode of production through *the decay of the peasant pattern of production* (is) accompanied by a well calculated expansion of state-owned and co-operative enterprises at the expense of the

[198] Ansa Asamoa, *Depeasantization of Africa's Rural Economy*, pp.23-24 Here, Prof. Asamoa provides a list of some achievements of the Cultural Revolution in the socialist countries similar to those listed herein in respect of Dr. Nkrumah's achievements in the socialist transition.

individual and private enterprises.'[199] Unlike the co-operative movement led by the Nkrumah regime's Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council which pursues its organization of co-operatives *from* the national *to* the village level, the organization of this co-operative movement is undertaken *from* the *village to* the *national* level.[200]

He urges 'progressive circles *in* the academic and *government administrative institutions*' to advise government[201] to undertake this process of change. In this respect, the burden lies on the government to *lead* the process of organizing and massively investing in co-operatives and collectivized unions 'in all branches of the peasant economy'.[202] Hence, the said progressives are to depend on *the existing neo-colonial state* through whose agency their policy proposals are channelled and applied. The *independent* development of an *alternative* state system does not come to attention as the *only* possible instrument for the implementation of such policy proposals, consequently.

And this is explainable in terms of Prof. Asamoa's conviction that Ghana opts for the capitalist system and is allergic to socialism. So that in spite of the socialist *form* that the policy proposals take the latter are capitalist in *content* as the next section brings out. In its essence, therefore, the proposed set of policies constitutes a capitalist *reform* of the neo-colonial capitalist system. It is, therefore, not accidental that Prof. Asamoa shies away from the anticipated emergent mode of production as *socialist* and prefers to accord it the vague terminology of 'national mode of production'. Thus, he conclusively states his optimism 'that *foreign stakeholders* might be *more* interested in our study'.[203]

Of course, his researched paper under our consideration was prompted by an invitation from *such* foreign shareholders who found a previous publication of his relevant to their concerns. And they had to discuss his subsequent research proposal and a key thesis in it before they accepted and endorsed it. Those foreign shareholders are the international capitalist organizations: Charities Aid Foundation (CAF) (West Africa), an NGO, and the Ford Foundation (West Africa). Excerpts from Prof. Asamoa's Preface and Acknowledgements to his paper *Depeasantization of Africa's Rural Economy – The Ghanaian Experience* read thus:

> What has gone wrong? Why is the [African] continent still in a mess three decades (on average) after independence? What about the future? In their search for answers, and prompted by the relevance of my latest publication on Africa's development problems (Asamoa, 1996) to Ghana's quest for better life for the citizenry, Charities Aid

[199] Op. cit. p.55 Italics added.
[200] Op. cit. p.73
[201] Op. cit. p.54 Italics added.
[202] Op. cit. pp.54-55
[203] Op. cit. p.90

> Foundation (CAF) (West Africa) invited me to submit a research proposal which should address the crucial aspects of social change in Africa. At a meeting to which Dr. Akwasi Aidoo, Director, Ford Foundation West Africa, was invited, the research proposal was discussed and endorsed…
>
> We agreed that the research should be in two parts. Part one should establish a general methodological trend of social change in Africa as a guide to university students and other stakeholders such as politicians, NGOs which are well disposed to Africa's problems as well as donors, who in one way or another help or will help Africa. The report of Part One of the research was published recently.
>
> Part Two, it was agreed, should address grassroot mobilization potentials in rural Africa, using the Ghanaian experience as an example of the general African rural economic situation. CAF and Ford Foundation accepted a key thesis in the author's research proposal that a systematic, scientific grassroot mobilization of human and natural resource potentials in rural Africa in well-defined institutional or organizational settings would rapidly depeasantize the countries' economy and that the omission of sustainable models in this regard in economic planning in Africa is a chronic hurdle in agricultural transformation.

So that the paper is not the product of an independent intellectual work by a self-financed researcher but one carefully *guided* by well-known international capitalist organizations operating in the interest of international capitalism. They clearly do not just discuss and endorse a key thesis of the paper before research work but also their acceptance of its elaboration is a predetermined conclusion. Prof. Asamoa's optimism can, therefore, be appreciated. For, those organizations are not simply allergic to an essential socialist process but very much resist its emergence. A depeasantization process that transforms the peasant economy in aid of capitalist development qualifies for their largesse.

Prof. Ansa K. Asamoa, in his policy proposals, provides us with just that type of a depeasantization process that serves just that type of purpose.

The Capitalist Essence of the Proposed Depeasantization Process

Prof. Ansa Asamoa observes an alignment of existing production relations in Ghana. In the main, he sees pre-capitalist production relations (within which the peasant economy subsists) and capitalist production relations. The two are independently animated by dynamic laws specific to them and, therefore, each appears as a closed separate system. In spite of this there are dialectical processes of reciprocal influence and interpenetration between them. This is facilitated by the fact that both relations of production develop in conditions of

growing commodity-money relations between them. That leads to a process of *decay*, on the part of the pre-capitalist relations, and *development*, on that of the capitalist mode of production within which capitalist relations subsist.[204]

Commodity-money relations emerge with the development of the capitalist mode of production out of the womb of feudalism. Prof. Asamoa shows that in the absence of the feudal mode of production in Ghana, where the communal mode of production characterizes the peasant economy, capitalism comes as a *superimposition* on communalist relations. [205] The process of superimposition involves 'patterns of primary capital accumulation which are scarcely understood in the context of classical primitive accumulation.'[206] In this regard, private individuals, taking advantage of their right of use in communal land as specified by custom, undertake plantation farming without paying rent.[207]

This goes together with insignificant State compensation for land seized for various purposes. In the colonial era, large mining concessions were also acquired for a pittance. In addition to these land expropriations, urban retail traders buy surplus agrarian products from the peasantry so cheaply that they resell them at 100% or more profit.[208] Prof. Asamoa observes that although these expropriations are not as physically outrageous as in America, Asia and Southern Africa the 'democratic form of land ownership is vulnerable to private capitalization'.[209] This is enhanced by land fertility and low population density as well as possibility of all-year round food production.[210]

While he discerns that this situation 'will sooner or later whet the appetite of both local and external capital in the course of the development of the capitalist forces of production',[211] he warns that private capitalization and private capital-intensive farming could respectively unleash untold hardships 'in the absence of labour absorbing non-agrarian enterprises.'[212] Hence, he suggests government involvement in agro-industrial projects in the country-side aimed at boosting local initiative in depeasantization, among other things[213]. This goes in tandem with *de-neo-colonization* of the extractive industry through value-added activities like financially supporting small-scale

[204] Op. cit. p.52
[205] Op. cit. p.31 In his comparative study of the historic experiences of American Red Indian and Southern African communal systems on the one hand and those of the Ghanaian communal system on the other hand he sees common features such as 'the super-imposition of alien capitalism on the communalist non-class order'. This proceeds with internal disintegration of the communalist system.
[206] Op. cit. p.32
[207] Ibid
[208] Ibid
[209] Op. cit. p.33
[210] Ibid
[211] Ibid
[212] Ibid
[213] Op. cit. p.86

jewellery manufacturing workshops to free Ghana from foreign exploitation.[214]

This suggests the employment of *industrialization* and *de-neo-colonization* as instruments of a humane[215] depeasantization process. In these processes, while foreign investment is 'strictly controlled and directed into areas of growth potentials in the national economy'[216] the dominance of the private sector in the economy is reappraised[217] to ensure not only state control of movement of capital between the peasant economy and the modern capitalist sector for the expansion of production in the non-private enterprises[218] but also for 'a well calculated expansion of state-owned and co-operative enterprises at the expense of the individual and private enterprises'.[219]

In this regard, Prof. Ansa Asamoa discourages the 'present system whereby the state capitalist sector allocates generous credit facilities and sophisticated means of production at low interest rates to private enterprises both in industry and agriculture'.[220] He leaves the moment of *disappearance* of private enterprises and private participation in state-owned enterprises to a future date when 'the escalating class struggle in Ghanaian society … decide(s) at the appropriate time'.[221] His exact statement in whole says that:

> Whether or not the private enterprises as well as private participation in the state-owned enterprises should have to disappear in the fully developed national mode of production of the future, is a matter for the escalating class struggle in Ghanaian society to decide at the appropriate time.

This leaves Prof. Asamoa's 'national mode of production' appropriately in the character of a *transition*. But the question is: a transition to where? Is it a *socialist* transition or a *capitalist* transition? For, his characterization of the present economy as a 'neo-colonialist capitalist order'[222] which is weak[223] suggests that the economy is yet to develop into a full-fledge capitalism. We can be certain that his leaving the disappearance of private capital as an open question indicates that the construction of the 'national mode of production' is *not* undertaken under *conscious socialist direction*; since, from the word 'go', the class struggle *already* determines that direction – capitalist or socialist.

---

[214] Op. cit. pp.85-86
[215] Op. cit. p.89
[216] Op. cit. p.85
[217] Ibid
[218] Op. cit. p.55
[219] Ibid
[220] Ibid
[221] Ibid
[222] Op. cit. p.53
[223] Op. cit. p.62

A directionless transition indicates a directionless leadership. But the history of class struggles has no example of such a leadership. Prof. Ansa Asamoa's 'national mode of production', run on principles that guarantee the survival of private capitalist participation *within* the state *beyond* that transition, can only be capitalist-oriented. And that state cannot but be capitalist.[224]

Socialist Policy Direction Development

Essentially, Prof. Ansa Asamoa's paper gives us an idea of how *not* to structure out a socialist policy direction development right from the initial phase of the socialist process while it suggests elements of strategy that could be incorporated in such a policy development. In the development of socialist policy, we set our immediate horizons on an organic ultimate emergence of the working people in socio-economico-political class dominance. This steady pursuit of working people's class dominance *begins* as an *independent* development of new economic organs of production whereby the working people continually control the means of production in land and other such resources *alongside* the neo-colonial system. It is a multi-faceted simultaneous pursuit.

Set within the framework of the general process of liberation and unification of Africa away from neo-colonial capitalism, the development of socialist forces of production takes the form of a *transcontinental* counter-strategic pursuit. African states are rendered unviable as single entities through an imperialist neo-colonial continental strategy designed to keep each of them dependent on the West. These states are so organized that rather than facilitate intra-African interactions they simultaneously restrict them and obstruct African access to Western markets. Infrastructural development in African countries continues to follow the colonial pattern which connects each of them not to the other but as parallel economic appendages to the Western capitalist systems.

In Prof. Ansa Asamoa's presentation we find a *neglect* of this fundamental significance of the liberation and unification of Africa as the framework within which to struggle in aid of de-neo-colonialization. The best advance he makes in this direction is his call for Ghana to link up with other West African countries with similar undertakings in heavy industrial development to

[224] It is interesting that in spite of the profuse use of Marxist and socialist terminologies as well as objections to capitalism in his works, Prof. Ansa K. Asamoa does not *really care* whether Africa's industrial development takes place within a capitalist or socialist framework. In his *Socio-Economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries – The Ghanaian Experience* (1996), p. 204, he recommends that 'Autonomous industrialized Africa either within a capitalist or socialist framework (or both) should be aspired to in the light of the new international situation.' Only an Establishment academician talks like this. Such might be the first winner of the title 'Directionless Leader'. But that might be meaningless because, in fact, the direction of his recommendations to the capitalist neo-colonial state, one of which he considers might 'be useful in the SOE (State-Owned Enterprises) reform efforts' (Op. cit. p.199) tells it all; that is, his veritable capitalist reform orientation and capitulation to the neo-colonial state and singular anxiety to resolve the crises of that state. On the same page, he discourages 'workers' management of the ineffective state enterprises'. Oh! No, there is nothing like 'Directionless Leadership', ideologically speaking.

address the need for heavy capital therein within the framework of Africa's economic integration. The problem here is that this call is occasioned by Ghana's particular need. It is opportunistic. Let us quote his exact formulation thus:

> Because of the heavy capital necessary for heavy industrial development Ghana's efforts in the area have to link with similar developments in the rest of the West African sub-region in the context of economic integration in Africa. It is an area where the state must be fully involved. [225]

It is this unnecessary duplication and multiplication of African development efforts that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah seeks to negate through his advocacy of conscious continental planning. This planning-type situates particular industries in particular parts of Africa where the advantage is optimal in the collective interest of Africa. Talking about continental planning he states in his book *Africa Must Unite* that

> Africa, it is frequently maintained, is poor. Yet it is widely acknowledged that its potentials provide tremendous possibilities for the wealthy growth of the continent, already known to contain vast mineral and power resources. The economic weakness of the new African states has been inherited from the colonial background, which subordinated their development to the needs of the colonial powers. To reverse the position and bring Africa into the realm of highly productive modern nations, calls for a gigantic self-help programme. Such a programme can only be produced and implemented by integrated planning within an over-all policy decided by a continental authority.
>
> The superstructure of colonial particularism upon Africa's subsistence economies has resulted in a highly uneven regional development of the continent…[226]
>
> What economic possibilities will be opened up as our whole continent is surveyed and its economic exploitation tackled on a total basis, there is no telling.[227]…
>
> The necessary capital for all these developments can only be accumulated by the employment of our resources on a continental extension. This calls for a central organization to formulate a comprehensive economic policy for Africa which will embrace the scientific, methodical and economic planning of our ascent from poverty into industrial greatness…[228]

[225] Op. cit. p.86
[226] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, Panaf Books, 1963, p.150
[227] Ibid. p.152
[228] Ibid. p.157

> In the face of forces that are combining to reinforce neo-colonialism in Africa, it is imperative that the leaders should begin now to seek the best and quickest means by which we can collectivize our economic resources and produce an integrated plan for their careful deployment for our mutual benefit. If we can do this, we shall raise in Africa a great industrial, economic and financial power comparable to any that the world has seen in our time.[229]

In his characterization of the current African economy, Dr. Nkrumah states categorically that

> It is purely and simply a trading economy. *Our trade, however, is not between ourselves. It is turned towards Europe* and embraces us as providers of low-priced primary materials in exchange for the more expensive finished goods we import. Except where we have associated and formed a common selling policy, we come into *competition* that acts to force down the prices we receive to the profit of the overseas buyers.[230]

Writing about the separatism that generates this unhealthy competitive spirit and national isolation in planning, he proceeds to comment that

> In the isolation of purely national planning, our rate of progress can only be halting, our individual developments doomed to slowness, no matter how intensive our efforts or careful our projects. Expansion of extractive industries, extension and diversification of agriculture, establishment of secondary industries, some infra-structure, the building of a few key industries – this is what we may expect within the confines of our national planning, and even this is not assured. Certainly not without the most careful trimming and austerity, and an uneven struggle at all times against coercive pressures, both external and domestic.
>
> Each of us alone cannot hope to secure the highest benefits of modern technology, which demands vast capital investment and can only justify its economics in serving an extensive population. *A continental merging of our land areas, our populations and our resources*, will alone give full substance to our aspirations to advance from our pre-industrial state to that stage of development that can provide for all the people the high standard of living and welfare amenities of the most advanced industrial states.
>
> It may, of course, be argued that any economic integration at this time would be like a pooling of poverty. But this ignores the essential core of integration: that it will co-ordinate all the existing resources, economic, agricultural, mineral, financial, and employ them

[229] Ibid. p.172
[230] Op. cit. p.160 Italics added.

> methodically so as to improve over-all surplus, to assist a wider capital development. Further, a co-ordinated survey of the continental resources, actual and potential, human and material, will permit planning to eliminate the present imbalance in identical forms of primary trading economies and provide for the erection of a *complementary* pattern of development which will give the fullest opportunity for progressive capital formations…
>
> Separatism, indeed, cuts us off from a multitude of advantages which we would enjoy from union… The Inga dam, a blueprint dream for the Congo, may not get beyond that stage without the co-operation of other African states, for no single state could afford to build it. Yet if it were built, the dam would provide 25 million kilowatts of electricity, which is estimated to be four-and-half times the output expected from the largest hydro-electrical plant in the Soviet Union: the Bratsk Dam. The Inga project could go a long way towards electrifying the whole of the African continent.
>
> If the independent states had a united, integrated economic policy, the building of the Inga dam could be carefully planned to support an extended industrial growth, catering for a far larger population. Its cost would, therefore, be economically spread. *This is only a single illustration of what African integrated economic planning might do. Extend it to all sectors of our economies, and its possibilities are infinite*.[231]

These excerpts from Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's book *Africa Must Unite* provide a clear statement of a continental strategy for Africa's development policy. Other sections of the book indicate Dr. Nkrumah's ideological preference for socialism – in an instance, he puts it this way: 'The planned industrialization … must be geared to the *social objective* of the highest upliftment of *the masses of the people*, and presupposes the elimination of those *acquisitive tendencies* which lead to sectional conflicts within society. By these means alone can Africa maintain the popular support without which the planned programme cannot succeed, and arrive at that economic freedom which is the intertwined goal of political independence.'[232]

Previously, he states that 'The greatest single lesson that can be drawn from the history of industrial development in the world today is the uncounted advantages which planning has in the first place over the *laissez faire* go-as-you-please (capitalist) policies of the early pioneers of industrialism; and secondly, how *immensely superior* planning on a continental scale, *allied to a socialized objective*, has proved for the giant latecomers into the realm of modern statehood over the fragmented discordant attempts of disunited

[231] Ibid. pp.168-170 Italics added.
[232] Ibid. p.171

entities, as on the South American continent'.[233] Continental planning allied to a socialized objective – that captures Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's socialist strategy for advancement of socialist policy development. He is socialist oriented.[234]

It contrasts with Prof. Ansa Asamoa's narrow separatist strategy that leaves African neo-colonial states in their pigeon-holes. It explains why though it was 'regarded as an abomination'[235] to have Ghanaians educated in the socialist countries before independence Dr. Nkrumah, whose Marxist credentials[236] date back to the 1940s, does just that with the attainment of independence.[237] The separatist stance in Prof. Asamoa's paper is one element that is avoided in socialist policy development in Africa.[238] But other elements enhance socialist policy development on the continent. His concept of co-operative development, critically appraised, is one. Let us get down to its content.

***

Prof. Asamoa makes co-operatives the basis for the depeasantization of the peasant economy. He urges progressive circles in academic and government institutions to advise the government to this effect. He projects co-operatives that are devoid of 'unscrupulous principles of exploitation'. He further projects individuals with capital investing in these co-operatives. Profit-sharing among such individuals is, however, not to be determined solely by the size of capital invested but also by the individual's labour input, family size and degree of poverty. Whatever this means readers are better helped with a direct quote thus:

> … government must be advised by progressive circles in the academic and government administrative institutions (i) to organize … the units of production in all branches of the peasant economy (fishing, farming, handicrafts, livestock rearing) on the basis of co-operation… Within the co-operatives unscrupulous principles of exploitation must not be allowed. For example, the size of the capital invested by an individual should not decide solely the percentage of

[233] Ibid. p.165 Italics added.
[234] In a speech, , captioned 'Building a Socialist State', to the CPP Study Group on April 22, 1961, Dr. Nkrumah states that 'as I have asserted time and again, socialism is the only pattern that can within the shortest possible time bring the good life to the people … At this juncture Ghana is not a socialist state. Not only do the people as yet not own all the major means of production and distribution, but we have still to lay the actual foundation upon which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialization of our country.' See the full speech at pp. 69-82 of Samuel Obeng's *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Vol. 2* for his full exposition of his socialist thrust.
[235] Ansa Asamoa, *Depeasantization of Africa's Rural Economy*, p.49
[236] As already quoted in a footnote above, Dr. Nkrumah is categorical in 1961 that the building of the CPP from local experiences and conditions etc. was 'based on the Marxist socialist philosophy and worldview'.
[237] The blogs *consciencism.wordpress.com* and *marxistnkrumaistforum.wordpress.com* have this author's *On the Question of Who Founded Ghana.* It explains Dr. Nkrumah's pragmatic Marxist politics from the 1940s.
[238] Dr. Nkrumah declares, 'The dimension of our struggle is equal to the size of the African continent itself. It is in no way confined within any of the absurd limits of the micro-states created by the colonial powers, and jealously guarded by imperialist puppets during the neo-colonialist period'. Kwame Nkrumah*, Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, p.48

> profit. Labour input and family size as well as the degree of poverty should be equally decisive as far as profit sharing is concerned.[239]

The centrality of private individual capital in this type of co-operative is not in any possible doubt. To use the current neo-colonial state phraseology, it is *the engine of growth* of the co-operative system. These individuals, who bring in their own *labour-power* and *capital*, could be seen as *worker-capitalists*. But that would be a misnomer based on an oversight. For, they do not employ *anybody* whose surplus-labour *they* could appropriate in the surplus-value created – *exploitation* is guarded against. They cannot be said to be capitalists. They are effectively workers with their own capital. This neatly projects a re-enactment of conditions exhibited within the communal mode of production wherein labour and means of production are united in the worker or, which is the same thing, the working collective.[240]

It might be in this light that Prof. Asamoa projects that 'Communal ownership of land … would tremendously facilitate co-operative production'. [241] For, the fact of land availability means that the level of capital requirement from the individual is drastically reduced. To complement this facility he suggests the adoption of a labour-intensive pattern of production since 'the advantage of the co-operative labour-intensive methods of production at the early stage of rural economic transformation of a developing country is that it guarantees higher productivity and rapid capital formation without much state subventions or capital investments.'[242]

In fact, he distinguishes between labour-intensive production based on the family and that based within the co-operative framework. He asserts that the latter increases production at a faster rate than does the former. This is due to the fact of pooling different skills and experiences as well as less expensive sets of tools or implements within the co-operatives. Additionally, unlike the family, division of labour in the co-operative is not exclusively determined by sex but by experience, skill and age as well.[243] On the whole, all this suggests that the invested individual capital is minimized within co-operative settings. Hence, the *main* individual input is one's own labour-power.

---

[239] Op. cit. pp.54-55

[240] We should also note that significantly in Prof. Asamoa's projections here in spite of the implied proposal that levels of capital invested could vary among the individuals that does not constitute the over-riding measure for determining benefits. Labour inputs and family needs are *equally* important. So that it is the social needs of these workers that determine access to benefits. But one might be confused since at page 71 he restates that "The peasants of the … villages could pool their individual farms (and even fallow land) for co-operative production. Other individual inputs (labour, implements, experiences) have to be pooled and *rewarded in proportion to quantity and value of inputs.'* An apparent doublespeak occurs but resolved here.

[241] Ibid.p.33

[242] Ibid. p.54

[243] Ibid. p.72 It might be useful to also see another statement of the model advocated here in his *Socio-Economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries – The Ghanaian Experience*, 1996, p. 77-78. Although that is less elaborate, it explains aspects of the presentation here more adequately. Reading the two publications together might prove more beneficial to the reader.

From this premise, Prof. Asamoa projects that after the end of the gestation period in order to forestall exploitation 'all individual shares have to be bought out by the co-operative'.[244] This is called for due to the circumstance that during the period of gestation individuals are 'rewarded in proportion to quantity and value of initial inputs'[245]. That paves the way for the elimination of the level of capital input as a measure of benefits from the co-operative. And the end of the gestation period, during which the profit margins of the co-operative grow, marks the end of the transition to the capital-intensive method of production. This transition is managed to absorb redundant labour.

The introduction of machines occasions this labour redundancy which is then channelled into the field of secondary industry like food processing, opening of workshops for repairing farming machines and tools of the co-operatives as well as cultural ventures like schools and entertainment facilities. This means the *simultaneous* training of technical manpower *during the period of the introduction* of the machines into agriculture.[246] At this stage Prof. Asamoa calls for massive government investment aid (p.55) to the co-operative process. This whole process begins from the village level towards the national level.[247]

***

The attraction of this format for building co-operatives along *socialist* lines is its initial start-up from the grassroots or village level on the basis of *local initiative* virtually without government participation.[248] Prof. Asamoa refers to certain instances where villages in Ghana, like Taviefe, build schools 'through local initiative'[249] and 'raise funds to support government electrification efforts'[250]. Within the conditions of neo-colonial governance what distracts from this positive line of thought is the *hijacking* of the co-operative process by the government in its *second phase* when capital-intensive methods are introduced. That leaves the process to neo-colonial exploitative incursions.

It appears out of sync that Prof. Asamoa – having admitted that the 'present political system is a reactionary one; it is capitalist oriented with comprador and national bourgeois elements (in collaboration with a corrupt neo-colonial army and multi-national co-operations (sic)), systematically taking control of

[244] Ibid.p.71
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.p.72
[247] Ibid.p.73
[248] In point of fact, Prof. Asamoa holds in a previous work that 'Till the co-operatives become self-sufficient, government support for them in terms of input, technical advice, cultural education, credit etc. must be sustained. This is necessary because of teething problems which face them during the period of gestation.' See Ansa Asamoa, *Socio-Economic Strategies of Independent African Countries – The Ghanaian Experience*, 1996, pp.77-78. So that, during the period of gestation the government actually plays a *significant* role in the process and as such controls it through such sponsorship.
[249] Op. cit. p.67
[250] Op. cit. p.63

the national economy'[251] and that 'the whole peasant question in Ghana would remain basically unsolved unless it is approached on the national level within a progressive political framework'[252] – should get out of his way to *surrender* the local initiatives to neo-colonial parasitism. Placing the development of the co-operative process in the hands of neo-colonial government is self-defeatist.

Prof. Ansa Asamoa appears to us to have taken the correct line of thought in his tactic of looking for opportunities *within* the neo-colonial order to advance the cause of developing productive forces in Ghana.[253] The aberration here is that such opportunities, when explored and *utilized within* the same neo-colonial system, can only lead to a reform of that system to strengthen it in favour of the same parasitic comprador and national bourgeois classes. In our considered opinion the *utilization* of those opportunities must be 'outside' the neo-colonial system and *within* an evolving anti-neo-colonial system being developed *alongside* it to *replace* that constricting reactionary system.

In this light, the 'village-to-village campaign' in promotion of the co-operative idea must not be in the hands of neo-colonial government agencies and so-called experts who would misdirect the entire exercise in favour of neo-colonial reform.[254] That is the task for Marxist-Nkrumaists in the framework of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism directed at the total liberation and unification of Africa in destruction and elimination of capitalist neo-colonialism from the soil of Africa. This is an *independent* endeavour informed by a socialist direction zealously guarded and guided by the said African revolutionaries.

***

At this stage it becomes imperative to subject Prof. Asamoa's co-operative idea to further scrutiny. For, a scientific socialist initiative undertaken through the process of utilizing existing opportunities to develop an alternative system in replacement of the existing system stands the risk of taking things 'as is' and, therefore, falls to the temptations of pragmatistic applications. The need for pragmatic approaches cannot be gainsaid; but where they are not consciously directed *ideologically* they become entrenched and *reproduce the existing system*. As Explo Nani-Kofi correctly puts it in a conversation, the practice becomes the norm. That is what we mean in our reference to 'pragmatistic'. Prof. Asamoa's idea appears to us clothed in the pragmatistic garment which must be rendered off it.

There is to be found in his paper a tendency to take communal ownership in land 'as is' with respect to individual parcelling out of the land for individual

[251] Op. cit. p.53
[252] Ibid
[253] Ibid
[254] Op. cit. p.55

farming. In his call for pooling of such individual farms into co-operative units he is concerned with the *economies of scale* to be derived therefrom. That essentially reproduces old practices on a larger scale.[255] He appears to realize this when he suggests that the co-operative buys out the shares of individual farmers at a certain stage of its development.[256] Effectively, this amounts to the crafty *dispossession* of the former individual farmers of their land whose value cannot be quantified in terms of its lifetime benefits – it is priceless.

In reality, these individual farms are increasingly proving unviable and are being abandoned by the youth, as he points out elsewhere in the paper. They are increasingly left in the hands of growingly unproductive aged persons.[257] In the process, they are increasingly sold out for purposes of ostentatious consumption or to meet lineage obligations, as he again points out.[258] At this moment of writing this piece, our own on-going investigations into land and its ownership and acquisition in Ghana show that local chiefs are no longer mere custodians of communal lands but have acquired the right to sell the lands and pocket the proceeds. All this points to new configurations in land ownership.

Given this development we see a trend towards not only youth vacation of farms on communal land but also a growing privatization of such lands which are then developed as individual plantations. And, interestingly, sections of these alienated youth are organized by so-called farm contractors into labour gangs to work on such plantations upon call across the country. This indicates an on-going dialectical process of depeasantization and proletarianization.[259] It is the environment or context of this dialectical process that should interest socialist forces. It provides these forces with an opportunity to take advantage of acquiring such lands for the permanent resettlement of the labour gangs.

Such an acquisition does not just restore the land to youth ownership but also more significantly to their *collective* ownership and development. In this way, the communal pattern of apportioning parcels of land for unviable individual development is simultaneously abolished democratically and rejuvenated at a higher level of land ownership wherein the collective manages development

[255] Co-operatives are not necessarily socialist. In fact, those run on capitalist principles have the potential of developing into the like of transnational corporations. Talking about some five of them, *The Great Food Robbery*, published by GRAIN, reports that 'These five cooperatives are owned by around 70,000 farmer members in the US, Europe and New Zealand. While each produces its own dairy products, much of the milk their farmers produce goes to supply the multinational processors. In this, the interests of the big cooperatives and the processors are often closely aligned. Indeed, the big cooperatives are multinationals in their own right, most having established or taken over dairy companies overseas, and their policies can clash with the interests of the farmers that supply them, particular the smaller-scale dairy farmers.'

[256] This suggestion does not arise in his 1996 publication.

[257] Op. cit. p. 69

[258] Op. cit. p.62 At p. 62, he states that 'Here and there land has been privatized because of its commercial value and exigencies which need urgent collective lineage monetary response.'

[259] The Centre for Conscientist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA) intends to undertake a self-financed research into the movement and operations of the labour gangs in the proletarianization process as part of the depeasantization of the countryside.

of agriculture and the secondary industries that arise therefrom. This form of land ownership and development with a directed socialist ideological thrust seeks to guarantee the workers' *instinctive defence* of the evolved mode of production which they control against resurgent capitalism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. This requires the framework of a revolutionary organization.

That revolutionary organization, emerging from the collective co-operative process, provides the progressive socialist political framework for planned implementation of development proposals collectively arrived at on the farms and in the industries. It sees to the collective development of the collective co-operative movement out of which a true socialist state evolves independently of the neo-colonial mode of production and reactionary political system. In this light, Prof. Asamoa's construct of a depeasantization process effectively under existing neo-colonial government direction and sponsorship falls short of the demands of socialist political economy. That is clearly and totally unacceptable. That construct can only land in the reproduction of capitalism.

No doubt then that Prof. Asamoa does not only consider that 'it is highly possible that foreign stakeholders might be more interested in our study'.[260] More importantly, he projects that, among other factors, the vulnerability of the democratic (communal) form of land ownership to private capitalization 'will sooner or later whet the appetite of both internal and external capital in the course of the development of the capitalist forces of production'. In this respect, he expects that the process of private capitalization 'would be preceded by bourgeois land reform'.[261] And, of course, his reform construct that *ultimately dispossesses* the individual farmers of their communal land through a co-operative system under government control does just that.

Conclusion

Prof. Ansa K. Asamoa provides us with a possibly pioneering model for the depeasantization of rural Africa to free productive forces in that community. As a pioneering model, we can expect oversights. We have here tried to locate such oversights together with our critical appreciation of formulations that we deem can promote the ends of freeing the said productive forces. In the process, we find ourselves uncomfortable with the prospect of peasants losing their communal lands should his proposals be implemented.

For which reason we strongly suggest a comprehensive reformulation of those proposals to take account of the need to contextualize them in the process of the total liberation and unification of Africa under the direction of Marxist-Nkrumaist Revolutionary Pan-Africanism for the destruction of neo-colonial capitalism and realization of socialism in Africa. Our reformulation restores

[260] Op. cit. p.90
[261] Op. cit. p.33

privatized land and land in the process of being privatized to the individual through a collective co-operative wherein land is owned and developed collectively for the depeasantization of Africa's rural economy and industrialization.

Processes of change in Africa for socialism cannot be on the pattern of socialist transformation in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America. The emergence of socialist forces in dominance in these latter areas is through resort to armed struggles that end in the destruction of the existing political systems *before* reconstruction begins. In Africa the initial assumption to political power by progressive forces is by way of a process that leaves the political systems intact and inherited. Furthermore, the system of soviets does not emerge from the co-operative movement. A palpable dichotomy, therefore, exists in the Soviet arrangement between the State and the co-operatives. That guarantees working people's lack of interest in the survival of the Soviet State.

African processes are complicated by the fact that a multiple of fronts of struggle face the forces of change: finalization of the liberation process and de-neo-colonization, unification of the continent, socialist reconstruction. This presents Africa with the need to dialectically conceptualize its struggles in an integrated and multi-faceted manner. This is a situation unique to Africa and Latin America. It calls for the utilization of democratic opportunities to build a continental State from grassroots mobilization and organization for a socialist mode of production based on collective co-operatives. The inevitable moment of armed struggle to finalize the process calls for simultaneous preparation.

Hence, the forces of change in Africa do not have use in so-called capturing of neo-colonial power, which must be destroyed, though they need to infiltrate the entire neo-colonial state system with the clear intention to sabotage and weaken it progressively in anticipation of the armed struggle which must be minimally bloody, if at all. This is the calling of the progressive socialist youth of Africa on the continent and in the Diaspora operating in a disciplined revolutionary organization. It is the critical point in African patriotism. Let the African youth respond to this call without let and in absolute enthusiasm. Need we say more? Only this: Long Live Africa! Aluta Continua! Victory is Certain!

Postscript

Contrary to what socialists like Dr. Kwame Nkrumah believe and programme for, Prof. Ansa K. Asamoa finds it *absurd* that housing the people should be a government concern. All the same, he calls on government to assist the *individual* in an indirect manner through the democratic distribution of wealth to build their own houses. This is how he puts it: 'It is *absurd* to expect *any* government of Ghana to solve the housing problem both in the rural and

urban areas of the country *through state intervention*. Improvement of housing must be preceded by or synchronized with general economic development, high income and democratic distribution of wealth. These pre-conditions, combined with state *encouragement of individual efforts*, seem to be the best way to approach the housing problem.' See p.66 of his paper. Italics added.

This tension-ridden contradictory statement, in itself, portrays Prof. Asamoa's 'national mode of production' concept more as a capitalist-oriented project wherein, contrary to his apparent rejection of capitalism, production is reorganized to make the poor majority more useful for the local development of capitalism to the benefit of the few. It is strange that while *discouraging* 'state intervention' in solving the housing problem he, in the same breath, suggests 'state encouragement of individual efforts' to the same end. Of course, *state encouragement* amounts to *state intervention* in a particular direction. Dr. Nkrumah's planned housing development at Tema in Ghana does not only put houses in the hands of those who would otherwise not have had their own houses but also shows how state intervention handles other problems like sanitation in an *integrated* manner.

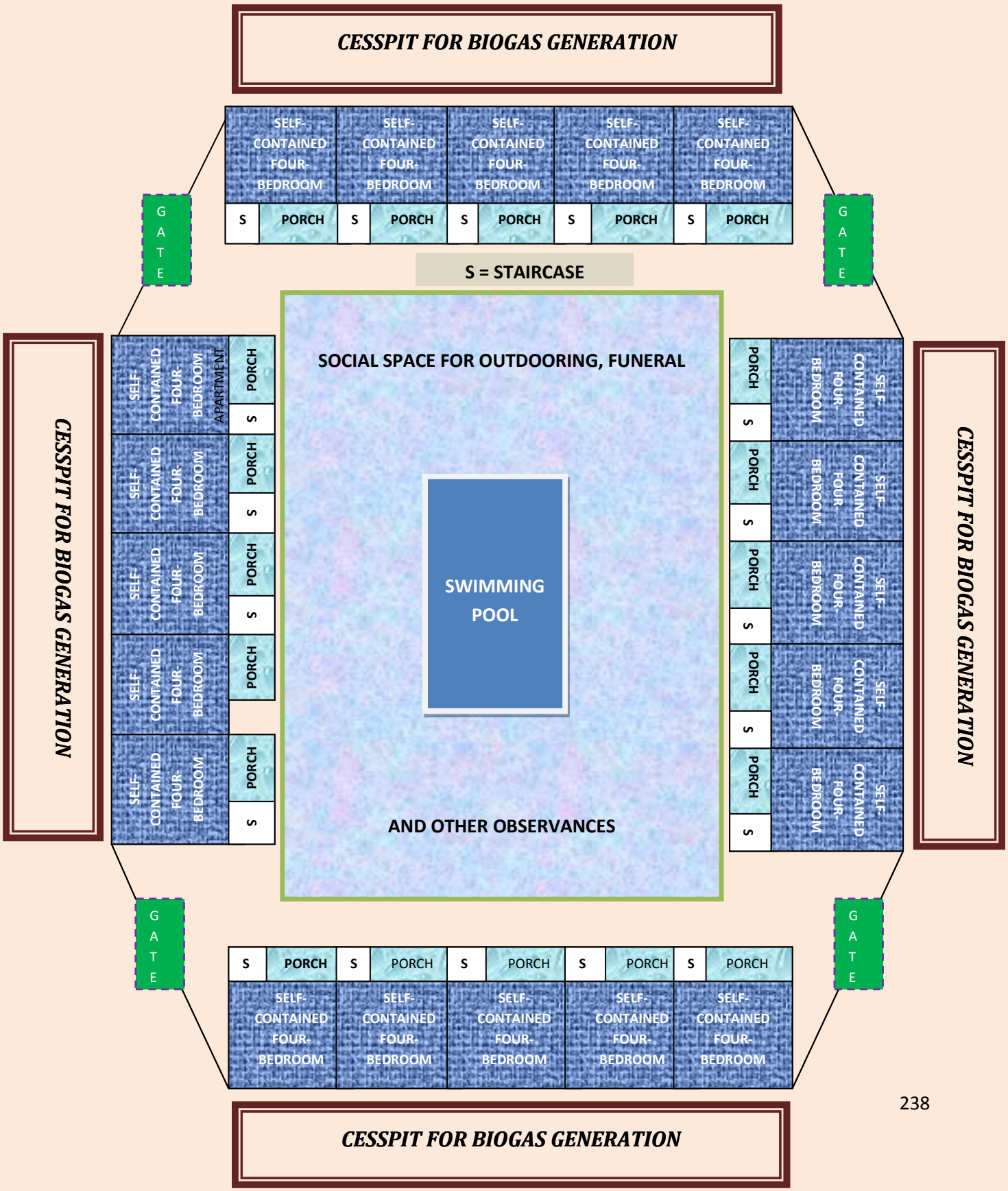
In our projection of collective co-operatives, we perceive them as not just agricultural units of production but also providers of the integrated housing needs of their members; which needs include the handling of sanitation, availability of bio-gas-generated electricity based on community-generated sewage, health facilities, common spaces for social observances like funerals and child-outdooring ceremonies, etc. The haphazard handling of the housing needs of the people through individual efforts very well leads to the uneven scenario whereby mansions tower over miserable structures that pass for houses mis-accommodating the poor who line up at the public toilet facilities whence their sewage is removed by sceptic tankers to be deposited in the sea to provide unwanted lavender to the poor living near that sea. Prof. Asamoa sees *absurdity*; in his construct, we see *insensitivity* to humanity and environ.

The attached Appendix below is on the drawing board of the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA). It gives us an idea of what should be on the mind of a set of collective co-operatives within a district in terms of a housing policy.

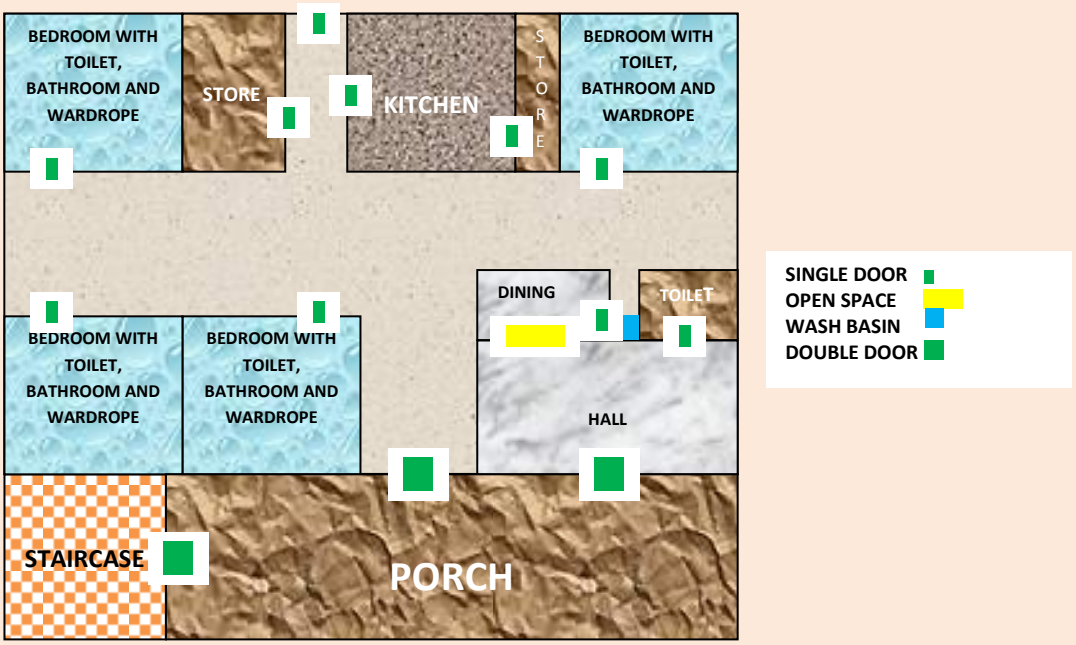
August 9-September 8, 2014

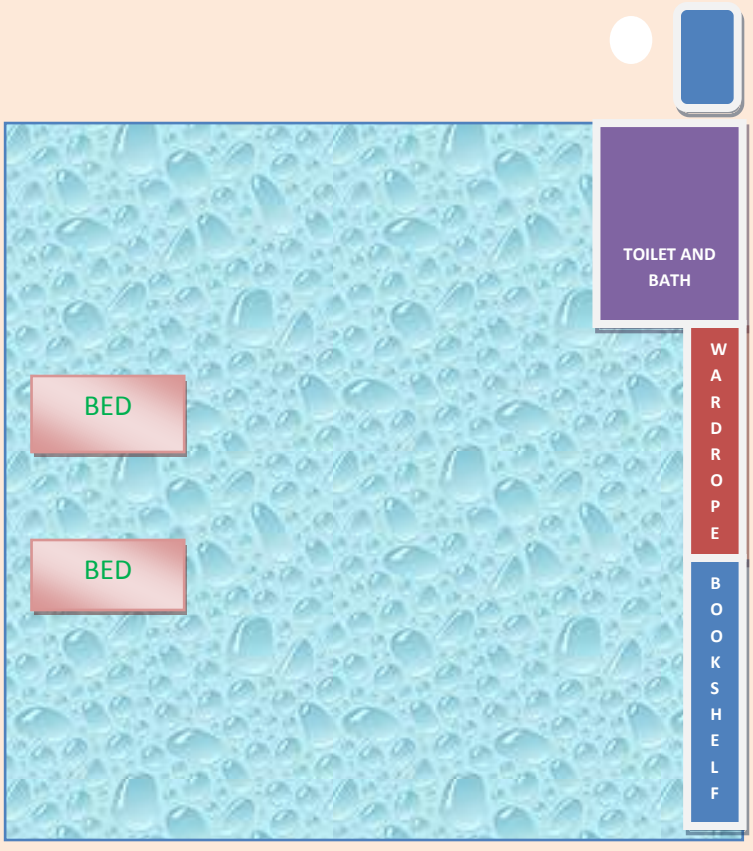
BACK TO CONTENTS

APPENDIX: CENCSA DIAMOND FOUR-STOREY FLATS COMPLEX WITH SELF-CONTAINED FOUR-BEDROOM APARTMENTS

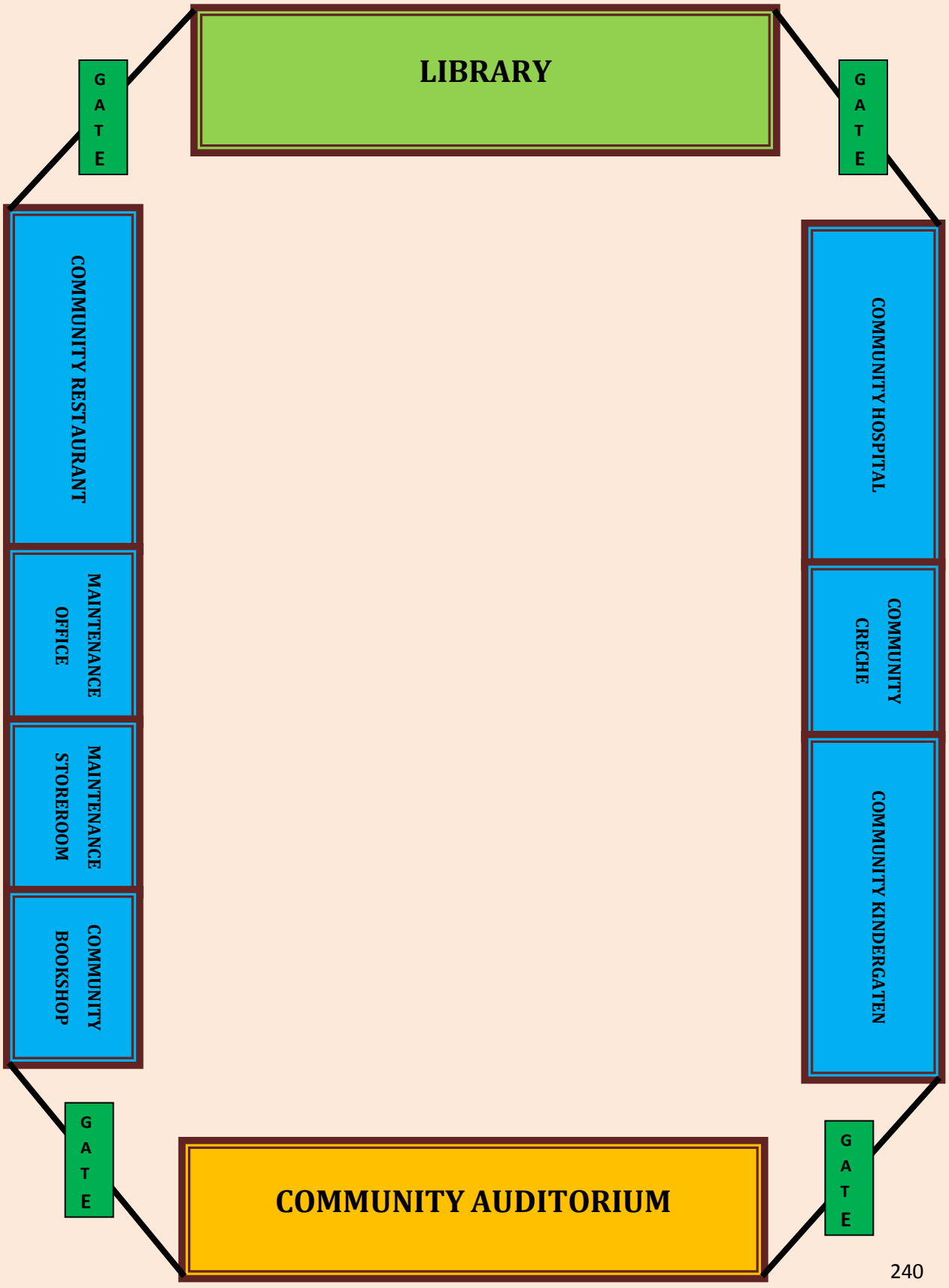


STRUCTURE OF AN APARTMENT AND DETAILS OF A BEDROOM





AT THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE DIAMOND COMPLEX



JOURNAL OF MARXISM-NKRUMAISM

Publishers

Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses

(CENCSA)

Establishment

December 31, 2014

Media Type

Online

E-mail

cencsa2011@gmail.com

Blogs

www.marxistnkrumaistforum.wordpress.com

www.consciencism.wordpress.com

www.lammpcencsa.wordpress.com

BACK TO CONTENTS